

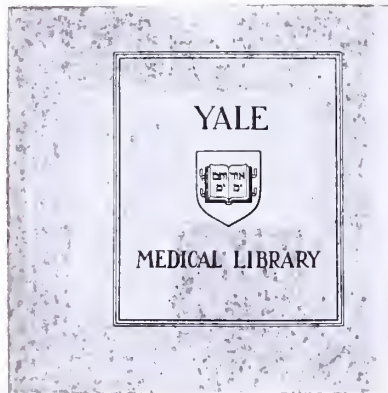


AN ADULT DEVELOPMENT PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY OF C. G. JUNG:  
AN APPLICATION OF THE THEORIES OF DANIEL LEVINSON


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JONATHAN H. HOLT

1980







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AN ADULT DEVELOPMENT PSYCHOBIOGRAPHY OF C.G.JUNG :

An Application of the Theories of Daniel Levinson

by Jonathan H. Holt

A thesis Submitted to the Yale University School of Medicine in  
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Medicine





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## Introduction

The work that follows is of a hybrid nature. It is in part a review of certain theories of adult development culminating in the work of Daniel Levinson and his co-workers at Yale. The major part is an application of the Levinson theory to the life of C. G. Jung. It is therefore a developmental psychobiography.

This is the work of a novice, an apprentice, in short, a medical student. I have but recently become involved in the study of adult development. My involvement with the subject of Carl Jung was subsequent to that. This work has been a learning exercise, as a thesis should be. It no doubt has all the faults attendant upon such a work.

I chose Jung as a subject for three reasons. His role in the history of the study of the adult life course suggested that his life would prove an interesting one to study from a theoretical point of view. Secondly he was present and active during the birth of a major influence in modern psychiatry and modern thought, psychoanalysis. By studying him I felt I would learn much about an important piece of medical history. Thirdly what little I had heard about Jung sounded exceedingly odd and I concluded that he would make a fun subject. I was right.

There will be no attempt at "proof" of Levinson's theories. For a better understanding of the empiric underpinnings of those theories I suggest that the reader consult his Season's of a Man's Life.<sup>\*</sup> It will be up to the



reader to decide if my application of those theories to Jung's life are convincing and illuminating. I would like to say that I have found the theory to be quite powerful. It not only made sense and order out of chaos, but it had predictive value. In the course of tracking down a certain date I would often make a prediction based on the theory and was frequently pleased at the result when the date was finally unearthed. Conversely when the theory predicted a certain type of occurrence at a certain date, on turning to Jung's memoirs or other sources I often found a suitable candidate for the "occurrence".

The major primary sources utilized for the biography were Jung's memoirs, Memories, Dreams, Reflections, and The Freud-Jung Letters edited by William McGuire. The two works above also contain a few of Jung's letters to his wife and Emma Jung's letters to Sigmund Freud. Most of Jung's personal correspondence, outside of the Freud-Jung correspondence, has not been made available to the public. There is no correspondence available before the year 1906. C. G. Jung Letters 1906-1950 edited by Gerhard Adler and Aniela Jaffe contains but a few letters before 1920. Jung's letters to Antonia Wolff, his colleague, student, and maitresse officiele, were destroyed by her sister after her death.

It is generally conceded that there is no definitive biography of C. G. Jung as of yet. There are works like Paul Stern's Jung, the Haunted Prophet,<sup>\*</sup> a book of strong opinions, much analysis, and little documentation. The





latest biography published is by Vincent Brome and it is well documented and features interview material with some family members and Jung's friends and colleagues. Even so its sources are undernourished and some of the conclusions are quite questionable. There are a number of "in house" biographies available by students of Jung (e.g., Barbarah Hannah, Lawrence Van der Post, Marie-Louise Von Franz, E. A. Bennet). Of these I found Barbarah Hannah's to be the most complete and helpful.\* My picture of the Freud-Jung friendship was filled out by Brome's Freud and His Early Circle\* and Paul Roazen's Freud and His Followers.\*

I also had the opportunity to interview two Jungian analysts who had been students of Jung in the 1930's, Margit van Leight Frank and Violet Delazlo. However, I did not have the wherewithall to do much interview work and depended primarily on written sources.

I felt that I had more than enough material to justify a developmental analysis, but not enough to feel entirely comfortable that my picture was balanced. Such is life. I, of course, take full responsibility for these occasions where I have arbitrarily chosen a view of Jung's reality among the views available. Often there were no clear criteria for such choices other than personal judgment (or the lack thereof).

My thesis has been structured as follows. A glossary of terms used in life course study and a brief chronology of Jung's life have been placed before the body of the text. The first section is a discussion of life course



study. First there is a review of the historical development of the field. Then there is a functional of approaches currently used in life course study. This is followed by a brief summary of Levinson's findings and theories stemming from his Yale study. The second section consists of a discussion of Jung's family background and his childhood years. Following this is the center of the thesis, a Levinsonian developmental psychobiography of that portion of Jung's life covered by the Yale study work (ages 17-45 approx.). Within this section a brief overview of these years placed at the end of this section. Finally there is a short account of the trends in Jung's life in the later years, not yet covered by empirically-based theory.

If the reader wishes to get an overview of this work I suggest that they read the glossary, the chronology, chapter three (on Levinson's theory), the summaries at the end of the chapters of section three, and the overview of section three.

This thesis wasn't intended to be a critical review of Jung's professional work or writings. I am far too inexperienced and unschooled in those matters to have pretensions to that. However, the study of a man's life course must of necessity involve his works, his creations. Moreover Jung's theoretical and clinical products are more directly linked to personal conditions and events than is commonly the case among scientists and thinkers. He had a rather large oeuvre, and some have said that it is not only large but quite murky and poorly written. I feel that this is an unfair



generalization. One has to but read his Memories, Dreams, Reflections or the anthology, The Portable Jung edited by Joseph Campbell to know that Jung's writings can be clear, lucid, and persuasive. But particularly in his mature works Jung often wrote from a biographical impetus and "from the unconscious". From Marie-Louise Von Franz' introduction: "He allowed the unconscious to have its say directly in what he wrote, especially in his later work ("Everything I have written has a double bottom", he said once)".\* An understanding of the biographic matrix of his work, even from this thesis, may help to make his writing more comprehensible.

I wish to make a few last cautionary remarks concerning the problem of Jung and "the occult". Perhaps unfortunately, this is not simply a problem of his works and beliefs, and therefore more peripheral to the scope of this thesis. Throughout his life, Jung showed a "talent" for experiencing strange dreams and visions, premonitions, out of body experiences, and even for producing pltergeist phenomena. There is even some corroborations for some of these incidents (see the chapter, "Settling Down", subchapter, "The Occult"). What is one to make of these supposed incidents? This is exemplary of a more general, recurring problem with Jung's life and work. He continually crossed borders from one field to another, from one type of approach to another. But there is too much richness of ideas and methods to simply dismiss him. Some writers, like Anthony Storr, dismiss the "bizarre" side of Jung as a quirk and proceed to glean from the writings what they find useful or comprehensible.



This approach has some merits but it also tends to stand Jung's arguments and perhaps Jung himself on his head. I propose to deal with these matters as directly as possible, without doing somersaults to explain them away. It is my hope that if I relate these incidents as the sources reported them, with all of their ambiguities intact, I will not inadvertently throw away the baby with the bath water.







- 1875 ~~24~~ July 26 born to Johann Paul Achilles Jung (1842-1896)  
and Emilie Preiswerk Jung(1848-1923 ) in Kesswil, Switzerland
- 1876 Moves to Laufen.
- 1878 Age 3., Emilie is hospitalized for months, period of eczema,  
the maid, the attempted jump from the bridge, and later the  
Man Eater dream
- 1879 (age 4) family moves to Klein-Huningen
- 1881 (age 6) starts school
- 1882 - 1886 ( 7-11) age of rituals
- 1884 ~~5~~(9) birth of sister Gertrude
- 1885-1886 (10-11) the manikén period
- 1886 (11) gymnasium
- 1887 (12) Jung is pushed , strikes head, and has fainting spells ,6  
months. He drops back one year at gymnasium
- 1888-1890 (12½- 14) time of "finding of self", discovery of the two modes  
of personality #'s 1 and 2 , vision of destruction of the  
cathedral
- 1890 (15) Confirmation, disillusionment with formal religion
- 1890-1892 (13-17) period of major intellectual growth
- 1892-1895 (17-19) start of Early Adult Transition, period of occupa-  
tional choice, resolution of #'s 1 and 2
- 1895 April (19) matriculates at the Medical School of the U. of Basel
- 1896 Jan (19 ½) Paul Jung dies (53), ~~the end of the world~~
- 1896-1898 (20-22 or 23) -period of poverty, continuation of ebullient  
student life, scholastic exploration
- 1898 (22-23) starts Entering the Adultworld period, describes growing  
seriousness about his medical work, about empiricism. Also  
time of "poltergeist" incidents and starts seance "experiments"



1900 (24½) ends seance experiments,

1900 (25) Jung is offered medical assistantship by Muller, reads psychiatry text at last minute, decides on psychiatry at last minute, passes final examinations, starts assistantship at the Burgholzli Mental Hospital in Zurich under Eugen Bleuler (Dec. 10 )

1900 -1903 (25½-27½) First years as Assistant Staff Physician, publishes personality study of the medium from 1898 as his thesis ("On the Psychology and pathology of So-called Occult Phenomena") and other works . Reads Interpretation of Dreams (1st )  
1902 x(27) named First Asst. Physician

1902-1903(27½-28) Age 30 Transition starts

Leave of absence to study under Janet in Paris

1903 Marries Emma Rauschenbach (1882-1955)

Rereads Freuds' Interpretation of Dreams (has impact) , Starts Word Association Experiments

1904- Psycho-galvanic experiments , organises laboratory for exper-

1906 rimental psychopathology; applies analytic concepts to schizophrenic patients .

1904 Dec Daughter Agatha born; (then Anna Feb 1906, Franz Nov 1908, Marianne, Sept 1910, then Emma March 1914)

1905 named senior staff physician at Burgholzli (-1909), named Lecturer at U. of Zurich (-1913)

1906 ( . 31) After long debate decides to write Freud as he acknowledges intellectual debt in word Association experiments. Marks end



of Age Thirty Transition, start of Settling Down and start  
of mentor - protege relationship with Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)  
(age 50) . Studies in Word Association is published

Dec. 1906 log dream discussion-- signif to marital relationship

1907 The Psychology of Dementia Praecox is pub. In March first meeting  
in person with Freud in Vienna. Summer rivalry with Karl Abraham

Oct. letters concerning complexes of Freud and Jung

1908 (33) depressed over family matter

April International Psychoanalytic Congress, Salzburg(1st)

Freud changes salutation Sept. Freud visits Zurich, starts  
friendship with Emma Jung. Jung resigns as Bleuler's deputy

1909 Jung becomes editor of the Jahrbuch, problem of Sabina Spielrein  
Poltergeist in visit with Freud in Vienna

Aug. -Sept . trip with Freud to U.S. and Clark University

Upon return, myth research starts; Honneger takes up psychiatry

1910 (35) Second International Psy. Congress in Nuremberg, elected  
president of new Int. Assoc. 2nd U.S. trip; Antonia Wolff  
(1888-1952) becomes a patient of Jung's

1911 (36) Becoming Ones Own Man starts. Toni becomes involved in  
the movement, then affair starts. Honneger suicides(March)  
Freud visits in fall. Weimar Congress. Emma Jung -Freud corresp.  
Jung's work in Transformations and Symbols of Libido reaches  
heretical points. Adler leaves the movement. Freud decides  
to enter field of religion himself(early fall)Nov. Jung hints  
of changes in libido theory



1912 March "heresy in the blood " letter April incest views May  
exchange with Freud on it and Adler parallel . May-June  
"Kreuzlingen gesture " Jung's trip to America pub. part II of  
Wandlungen(Transformations) Nov. " Dear Dr. Jung"letter  
Meeting brief reconciliation. Dec. 3 strong letter of Jung  
Dec. 14 Jung "Freudian slip" letter. Dec. 16 Freud points it  
out. Dec 18 Jung responds vehemently. Dec. 22 Freud letter  
not mailed.

1913 Jan 3 Freud breaks off personal relations, professional contacts  
(38) continue. Start of Jung's "introversion period" March trip to  
U.S. Sept. "partial reelection" at Congress. Oct bona fides  
letter, Jung resigns from Jahrbuch. Autumn, "time of outward  
movement" and the " blood visions" . Dec 12 "let myself drop"

1914 April 20 resigns as president of Psych., April 30 resigns from  
U. of Zurich

1914-1919 (38½-44) Mid-life Crisis(cont. of introspection)

1916 (41) 2nd phase of Mid -life Crisis. Founding of Psychological  
Club, first mandala paintings, develops notion of collective  
unconscious. Beginning of study of Gnostics. Work on Psychological  
Types starts

1916-1919 (41-44) emerges from introversion, starts to set up  
middle adulthood life structure, start of international clientele  
Writes " on the Psychology of the Unconscious. First use of  
term archetype. 1918 Commandant of camp for interned British  
soldiers. Mandala meaning and individuation. After WWI invited  
to lecture in London Psychiatric Society

1919-1926 (44-50) Entering Middle Adulthood







- 1920 March -trip to Tunis and Algeria, work with I Ching
- 1921 Psychological Types pub.
- 1922 Purchase of property at Bollingen, meets sinologist Richard Wilhelm, dream of father
- 1923 First tower at Bollingen, dream of wolf, death of mother
- 1924 visits New Mexico and Pueblo Indians, first English seminar at
- 1925 (50) Psychological club holds first English seminar,
- 1925-26 Trip to Kenya, Uganda, and the Nile
- 1926 end of period of research in Gnosticism, alchemy dreams
- 1925-19 28 ~~xx~~ Age 50 transition (50-53) Trip to Africa, end of Gnostic interest, searching for something else (p203)
- 1928 (53 Start of work on alchemy , starts collaboration with Richard Wilhelm on The Secret of the Golden Flower
- 1928- 1935) Culmination of Middle Adulthood period of work on alchemy (53-60)my , period of increasing international recognition
- 1929 publication of The Secret of the Golden Flower(Commentary)
- 1930 (55) becomes Vice-President , General Medical Society for Psychotherapy
- 1932 Awarded Literature Prize of the City of Zurich
- 1930-34 Seminars of "Interpretation of Visions" at Psychological Club
- 1933 becomes lecturer at E.T.H. , Zurich
- 1934 "Founds" International General Medical Society for Psychotherapy and is named president(German organisation) , and becomes editor of Zentralblatt fur Psychotherapie und ihre



Grenzgebiete(1934-39)

- 1935 (60) appointed Professor at the E.T.H. , Zurich, Founds  
Schweizerische Gesellschaft fur Praktische Psychologie ,  
Tavistock Lectures, 60th birthday celebration  
more honors,  
1935-36(60-64) increased travels, otherwise more of the same, fur-  
ther writing and developping of concepts of individuation,  
and the structure of the unconscious , and alchemy and the psyche  
1938 Trip to India  
1939 Resigns from Zentralblatt and from Int. Society (1934-39 pe-  
riod of relationship with the German(Nazi based organization)  
1939-1944(64 -69) Late Adult Transition, war years, health increasingly  
problematic, tries to stay active  
1943 Resigns from eE.T.H., illness  
1944(69) Occupies Chair in Medical Psychology at U. of Basel(created  
for him) 1944 breaks foot, heart attack, visions  
1944-1961 Late Adulthood (69-86) continues in his writing and as  
Old Man of a movement that forms around him ,1946-52  
forms a period of writing(Particularly on religious questions)  
(including :On the Nature of the Psyche, Aion, Answer to Job,  
Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle  
1952 Antonia Wolff dies suddenly  
1955 Emma Jung contracts cancer, dies of stroke from complications  
(80) Nov, at age 73  
Coniunctionis  
1955-56 Jung works on Mysterium : culmination of his work  
on alchemy and the psyche  
1957 (81-82) starts work on Memories, Dreams , Reflections  
1961 (86) finishes "Approaching the Unconscious" in Man and His Symbols  
pub. posthumously. Ten days later dies June 6



## Preliminary Glossary

In reviewing theoretical work on adult life study one encounters terms at once familiar and strange, for they are used in a special way in this context. To help smooth the reader's path brief definitions have been provided here:

**life course:** this is a descriptive term , it is the most general term used. It means the life through time, with no theoretical qualifications or filters.

**life cycle:** this is used to refer to a generalized conception of the succession of phases during a lifetime, much as a butterfly's life cycle includes egg, caterpillar, chrysalis, butterfly.

**adult development theory :** this is used to denote a theory that posits structures , and structural transformations ( and perhaps processes ) that underly the life cycle, or portions of it. A positive goal is not necessarily implied.

**life structure :** this is a new term coined by Levinson to refer to the patterns of major relationships of a person at a given time.

**life structure evolution :** this refers to the patterns of change in the life structure over time.



## Section 1

### Adult Developmental Theory





## Historical Review

This section will endeavor to complete two tasks. The first is to place the Levinson project theories within the context of the field of adult development study, both historical and contemporary. The second is to outline the specific theories and concepts that will be applied later to the life of C. G. Jung.

Throughout recorded history societies have had conceptions of the life cycle, the succession of roles that men take as they go from dust to dust. At times, these life cycle conceptions are more explicit than others. At the end of Seasons of a Man's Life Levinson serves up three examples of these found in legal philosophic texts. The first one listed here, set down in the 2nd century C.E. is from the Jewish Talmud, specifically in the Pirchai Avot in the Mishna (Sayings of the Fathers):

- 5 years is the age for reading Scripture
- 10 for Mishnah (laws)
- 13 for Commandments (Bar Mitzvah, moral responsibility)
- 15 for Gemarah (Talmudic discussions, abstract reasoning)
- 18 for Chupa (wedding canopy)
- 20 for seeking livelihood (pursuing occupation)
- 30 for attaining full strength (Koah)
- 40 for understanding
- 50 for giving counsel
- 60 for becoming an elder (wisdom, old age)
- 70 for white hair



80 for Gevurah (new special strength of age)  
90 for being bent under the weight of the years  
100 for being as if already dead and passed away from the  
world

Confucius (551-478 B.C.E.)

The master said, At 15 I set my heart upon learning

At 30, I had planted my feet firm upon the ground.

At 40, I no longer suffered from perplexities.

At 50, I knew what were the biddings of heaven.

At 60, I heard them with docil ear.

At 70, I could follow the dictates of my own heart, for  
what I desired no longer overstepped the boundaries  
of right.

Solon (Athens, 638-558 B.C.E.)

0-7 A boy at first is the man; unripe; then he casts his  
teeth; milkteeth befitting the child he sheds in his  
seventh year.

7-14 Then to his seven years God adding another seven,  
signs of approaching manhood show in the bud.

14-21 Still in the third of the sevens his limbs are  
growing; his chin touched with a fleecy down, the  
bloom of the cheek gone.

21-28 Now in the fourth of the sevens ripen to greatest  
completeness the powers of the man, and his worth  
becomes plain to see.



28-35 In the fifth he bethinks him that this is the season  
for courting, bethinks him that sons will preserve and  
continue his line.

35-42 Now in the sixth his mind, ever open to virtue,  
broadens, and never inspires him to profitless deeds.

43-56 Seven times seven, and eight; the tongue and the mind  
for fourteen years together are now at their best.

56-63 Still in the ninth is he able, but never so nimble in  
speech and in wit as he was in the days of his prime.

63-70 Who to the tenth has attained, and has lived to com-  
plete it, has come to the time to depart on the ebb-tide  
of Death.<sup>1</sup>

The life cycles vary in their accordance to more contemporary efforts. The one from the late Chou dynasty is especially sanguine (perhaps whistling in the dark). It is important to note that all three have a span of time equal to that of modern life spans. Despite notions of the wonders of modern medicine, the schedule of aging appears to have stabilized at least a number of millenia ago.

Jose Ortega y Gasset quotes an Aesop's tale on this matter:  
"God wanted man and the animals to have the same length of life--  
thirty years. But the animals observed that this seemed too long  
a time to them, while it seemed very little to man. They came  
to an accord, and the donkey, the dog, and the monkey agreed  
to hand over part of their years to those of man. In this way  
the human being achieves a life of seventy years. The first



thirty are good years, and in them man enjoys good health, he amuses himself, he works joyfully, happy in his destiny. But then comes the eighteen years of the donkey, when he has to bear load after load, he must carry the grain which someone else eats, and endure kicks and beatings in return for his good service. Then comes the twelve years of the dog's life; he crawls into a corner, growls, and shows his teeth, though he has very few teeth left for biting. And when this has passed then comes the ten years of the monkey, which are the last; man makes whistling noises and foolish gestures, busies himself with absurd manias, goes bald, and is useful only as a butt for the laughter of little children."<sup>2</sup>

Since this is such a perfect opportunity to quote Shakespeare's Seven Ages of Man speech from "As You Like It", it is hereby quoted: "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players: They have their exits and their entrances: and one man in his time plays many parts, His acts being seven ages. At first the infant, mewling and puking in the nurse's arms. Then the whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping unwillingly to school. And then the lover, sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard, jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel, seeking the bubble reputation even in the cannon's mouth, And then the justice, in fair round belly with good capon lined, with eyes severe and beard of formal cut, full of wise saws and modern instances; And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon, with





spectacles on nose and pouch on side, his youthful hose, well saved, a world too wide for his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice, turning again toward childish treble, pipes and whistles in his sound. Last scene of all, that ends this strange eventful history, is second childishness and mere oblivion, sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything."<sup>3</sup>

Both contributions from literature are considerably more cynical, more jaundiced, than the legal-philosophic ones. Otherwise all of the noted life cycles have many characteristics in common. Most importantly, they all have an exterior viewpoint. Man is observed from the outside, as it were, and he is observed to fill different roles, parts or functions. The modern age of life course study can be said to have started with Sigmund Freud and his particular "depth psychology", which provided a complementary "internal" viewpoint.

Freud brought two theoretical concepts to bear on life study. Firstly, he proposed a model for the structure of the human psyche. Secondly, he proposed a plan for how this structure is "built" and modified over time. The focus is on hypothesized internal events and matters, and not the "parts" seen by Shakespeare's audiences. Freud's structure of the psyche has two major components, a conscious personality, and an unconscious functional unit. The latter contains internalized aspects of parental and family figures and certain primitive instinctual drives. This unit contains memories from the earliest of ages, memories not available to the conscious unit. Freud's developmental schema starts with the infant who is all primitive instincts, wants, and sensations. Chief among



these is the drive for pleasure and an ability to experience pleasure of a sexual nature. As Freud's infant grows, two major processes are at work. One is the dialectic between his wants and needs and his interaction with his parents as they meet or frustrate those needs. Second is the physical growth allowing changing abilities, changing body areas of preoccupation, and changing modes of interaction. The Freudian schema is outlined in Fig. 1. It has an individual going through psychosexual stages developing his conscious personality while pressing certain feelings, thoughts, and memories into his unconscious. Freud's developmental schema more or less ends with adolescence. In adulthood there are no regular changes, but there are adaptations to events and there is a reliving and reworking of unfinished developmental conflicts of childhood, preserved and served up again by the unconscious.

The next important contribution in this field came from Carl Jung himself. From the standpoint of adult development study, his was a modification and augmentation on Freud's theory. He accepted the division of the personality into conscious and unconscious spheres and accepted in a general way the rise of the individual from an unconscious, primitive infant to partly conscious adult. He disagreed with the pre-eminence of the infantile sexual drive, as opposed to other drives, in human development in the general case. He also disagreed with the conception of the unconscious as solely a negative vestige of the growth process. Jung suggested that the unconscious contained elements called archetypes. These are patterns, seeds, potential roles, or parts of the



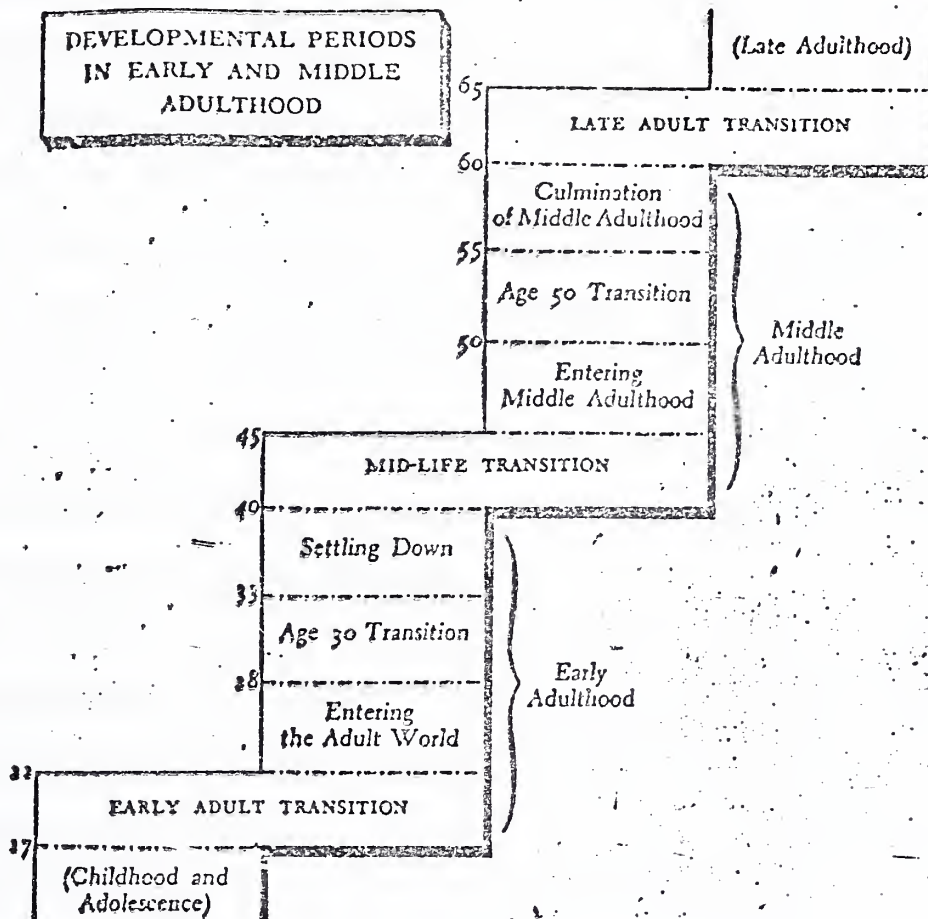


Fig. #3 From Daniel Levinson Seasons of a Man's Life

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personality that can come to have an effect on the person's life. Jung felt that the first half of adult life was spent in the mold of outside forces and the instincts. Around forty, there is a tendency to change direction according to aspects or forces within that have been hitherto neglected. Jung proposed that there is a tendency to move toward, to actualize an archetype called the "self", an archetype of a balance of the various components of the person. This tendency toward a personal balance, a more personal identity, Jung termed individuation. Thus, Jung's theories continue the developmental process through adulthood, though it is too loose and general to be considered a developmental theory.

Two figures, though somewhat peripheral to the intellectual history of adult development, deserve some mention, Jean Piaget and Charlotte Buhler. Piaget studied cognitive development in children. Though he did no work with adults, his theory provides a model for what developmental theories should offer. There must be structures, stable modes of functioning, and transitions from structures to structures as time, circumstances, and growth demand.

Charlotte Buhler was a psychologist at the University of Vienna who did work in the 1930's interviewing people of all ages to get a psychological conception of the life course. It was a latitudinal study researching the preoccupations of different people at different ages. She outlined five periods: 1-16, 16-26, 26-48, 48-65, and 65--. She then listed the chief preoccupations and events of each period. In short she





provided a modern psychological equivalent of the life cycles mentioned earlier. Though not widely read (her life course work is in German), a pupil of hers, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, came to the United States and taught here. Daniel Levinson was one of her students in the 1940's, though it was quite a while before he entered this particular field.

The next major figure was Erik Erikson. He was a latter day student or disciple of Sigmund Freud. His early work was done under Anna Freud and chiefly involved expanding the work on ego psychology and childhood problems. His first major work (1950) was entitled Childhood and Society<sup>4</sup>, but what concerns us most is the contents of the small seventh chapter, "The Eight Ages of Man". These ages are listed in Fig. 1. They are not like the previous "ages of man" or life cycles in that they are not concerned with roles that are perceived from the outside. Instead they outline key conflicts and directions within the conscious personality that characterize different ages. Unlike Freud, Erikson's scheme continues beyond the end of adolescence into and through the life course. It is spare in details, covering as it does 60 years in three periods. It is somewhat narrow in conception dealing as it does with only one segment of a man's life, his ego. But it was a powerful and groundbreaking theory and all contemporary studies of adult life are beholden to this book on childhood, either directly or indirectly.

The three stages that are most relevant to our concerns are the three last: intimacy vs. isolation in early adulthood, generativity vs. stagnation in middle age, and integrity vs.



despair in old age. The first involves the conflicts that occur in the setting up of adult life. Will one find a mate or mates, will the relationship be permanent, will one commit oneself to an occupation and its social structure? On the other hand will one distance oneself in order to battle competitors, in order to set priorities, in order to avoid the fears and dangers of intimacy? The second period occurs in "middle life", when the first rise in occupation or profession is complete, when a marriage or family has come together and aged. At this point one is faced with role changes. Will one be able to shift to fostering development in others, as opposed to the more purely personal achievements and striving of the earlier era? Or will one become stuck, unable to give up the old methods and goals but no longer able to excel in the old ways because of lost youth? The conflict of old age is integrity vs. despair. The integrity is the peace and acceptance of what one has done and not done, the knowledge that while time is not yet up, one cannot live for a personal future. The integrity is remaining whole in the face of the end of one's time. Despair is the succumbing to the regrets of the past and the lack of time to make them up or simply the overwhelming fear of the end of life.

The second of Erikson's contributions to the field of life study was the introduction of biography as a legitimate study and activity in psychology. Though they provide no systematization of the life course per se, the biographies opened up overly narrowed studies of various components of human life. They were interdisciplinary works that called for synthesis of different disciplines to meet the challenge



of a multisystem problem. Erikson gave to modern social science, through his biographies, an expansion of vision and an outsided goal, the making sense of the human life course in all its complexity.

There are a number of other figures between Erikson and Levinson's project in 1966. Bernice Neugarten headed research on the aged and aging. Elliot Jaques wrote in 1965 on "Death and the Midlife Crisis". Some sociological work on age stratification in society was done by Eisenstadt. However, within mainstream social science there was a fallow period after Erikson's original work. It was after an incubation period that Levinson's project, among other studies of adult life, crystallized in the mid-sixties. The analogy of a latency period comes to mind, where certain issues go underground for a space, then reemerge when an internal ripening is completed.

Levinson, himself, conceived of the project after moving his base of operations from Harvard to Yale. At the age of 46 he had completed work on the course of occupational careers. Professional, personal, and historical forces conjoined to produce the impetus for an expansion of his interests to the study of the life course in general. Levinson's own training, though formally in psychology, had been eclectic and interdisciplinary. His teachers and associates had included Murray of "Explorations in Personality", Nevitt Sanford, Erikson himself, and sociologists Alex Inkeles and Talcott Parsons. At the time of his move to Yale, he felt that his inter-





disciplinary tendencies were on the rise. In this atmosphere Levinson reviewed pertinent literature within psychology, sociology, literature history and even such fields as philosophy of history as exemplified by the work of Jose Ortega y Gasset. An investigational task force was set up that included Charlotte Darrow (sociologist), Edward B. Klein (psychologist), Maria H. Levinson (psychologist), Braxton McKee (psychiatrist and psychoanalyst), Ray Walker (psychiatrist and Jungian analyst), and Douglas Derrer (psychology). It was the avowed intention of the group to investigate the problem (as much as possible) in an open way and avoiding premature theorizing and closure. In particular, the group avoided suggestions to orient their study around key events or processes. The project consisted of a two-year exploratory period in which reading, discussion and model studies were performed.

Interviewing techniques were developed at this time. The "biographical" interviews had certain characteristics of therapeutic interviews, but they were more structured toward ascertaining the components of the interviewee's life in working through feelings and attitudes. In addition, the thematic apperception test or T.A.T. was used as an adjunct technique. The test contains five pictures with human figures placed in evocative but ambiguous situations. The subject is required to make up a story for each of the pictures. Usually the T.A.T. is used as a projective test for the assessment of personality factors and disturbances. Within the Levinson





study it was used as a springboard for further discussion of feelings and attitudes concerning life events or figures.

During the exploratory period, male and subjects of various ages were interviewed. Male and female figures in history and literature were also analyzed. The first impression was that there were basic similarities between sexes in the developmental process. However, it was decided that in order to have a significant sample size, yet remain within the boundaries of practicality, the first study should concentrate on one sex. It was felt that an evenly divided study within a practical size of forty would have too few subjects of either sex to provide significant data. Thus the main study consisted of forty men of various ethnic groups, between the ages of 35 and 35, and belonging to one of four occupational cohorts: biologists, novelists, executives, and blue collar workers. Each subject was seen five to ten times for a total of ten to twenty hours over a two to three month period. The interviews were taped, transcribed, and then analyzed. Follow-up interviews were conducted two years after the original interview series. During the two years of preparation it was decided that the period of time with the most dramatic of changes, and hence payoff, was the period around the entrance to middle age. The age of the population to be studied was set between 35 and 45. A smaller range was rejected so that the study would not be limited to retrospective glimpses of the transition into middle age.<sup>4</sup>



## A Review of Functionally Divergent

### Approaches to Life Course Study

Before discussing the results and theories that emerged from the study, it will be useful to give a functional analysis of the various researches into the life course.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this is that discernment of certain important patterns requires particular groupings and conceptualizations. An analogous situation would be the importance of understanding chords and chord progressions in order to understand the structure of a musical composition. There are five perspectives of the life course implicit or explicit within the various theories. The first is the biological, the latter four are within social science, and they include the personality development viewpoint, the adaptational viewpoint, adult socialization viewpoint, and Levinson's own life structure evolution viewpoint. The biological outlook is for the most part beyond the scope of this work. The reader is encourage to pursue the matter of Alex Comfort's Ageing: The Biology of Senescence.<sup>2</sup> Essentially the matter still rests with the three periods of Buhler's time: biological growth, stability, and decline. If one includes the onset and end of sexual function, one gets five periods. There is no conclusive evidence yet of purely biological phenomena dictating developmental periods within the large units, of adulthood, especially during the plateau phase. In fact, the social scientific periods seem to straddle the biological periods (menarche and menopause both occur in the midst of periods defined by other forces). The biological sphere,



of course, has profound influence, in that its general arc affects social mores and expectations, and personal expectations and limitations.

The personality development school has included most of the twentieth century approaches discussed heretofore. The functions posited within Freud, Jung, and Erikson's theories are all phenomena belonging to the realm of the personality, whether conscious or unconscious. More recently, this faction includes the work of Bernice Neugarten on middle age and aging, and Roger Gould's work on the transformations of personality with age. However, both of these researchers have bridges to the other outlooks. Gould's work also includes discussion of couple and family relations as they affect and reflect personality development. Neugarten wrote in 1968, "If psychologists are to discover order in the events of adulthood, and if they are to discover order in the personality changes that occur in all individuals as they age, we should look to the social as well as to the biological clock, and certainly to social definitions of age and age appropriate behaviour."<sup>3</sup> Neugarten's own work remains on one side of that divide.

The adaptation perspective characterizes the course of adult life as a series of accommodations or reactions to events and circumstances. In analyzing the adaptation process various adaptationists emphasize personality, psychological, or social aspects in varying amounts. Actually much of Freud's work on adulthood and most of the classical psychoanalytic work also fit under the adaptational



rubric. For beyond the transition into adulthood, Freud did not believe in a generalized pattern of growth or change. In his view, adults continue to do the same things with increasing rigidity unless some specific factor or event in life encourages them to change (e.g., therapy).

On the current scene, George Vaillant (1977) and Marjorie Fiske-Lowenthal are representative of this approach. Vaillant's work involved the study of adjustment and personality parameters in a single cohort of thirty Harvard graduates at three ages: 20, 30, and 45. He discovered a correlation of "life adjustment" as he measured it with "psychological health". He also found indications of stability in the personality measures. This corroborated his classical psychoanalytic view that development per se stops at the end of adolescence.<sup>4</sup>

Lowenthal's group studied individuals at four "stages of life" as defined by roles and role transitions. These transitions were: 1) leaving the parental home, 2) marriage, 3) empty nest, and 4) retirement. Subjects were queried on their attitudes on entering the transition and then their adjustment to that transition. The role transition and the structural or developmental changes as the subjects passed through the transitions or major events was not studied. The question that Levinson raises to this approach is whether these transitions are life stages (developmental stages) or whether they are important life events (marker events) that can occur within different life stages.<sup>5</sup>







An example of work that I consider to have both adaptational and developmental elements, is Elizabeth Kubler-Ross' original work on the dying. She studied people of varying ages who were told by their physicians that they were going to die within relatively short periods of time. In following and working with these people up to their deaths Kubler-Ross discovered that there was an ordered pattern of attitudes and reaction that her subjects shared. She characterized these as five stages: 1) denial, 2) rage and anger, 3) bargaining, 4) depression, and 5) acceptance. Kubler-Ross felt that most of her subjects went through this sequence, some tarrying longer or even staying within one until death, but there was a tendency for the sequence to be realized in order. The why's and wherefores of this pattern are not known. But it appears that within our society, once an individual finds himself labeled as dying, he undergoes a specific developmental progression.<sup>6</sup>

The socialization perspective emphasizes the importance of social and cultural phenomena on the structuring of the life cycle. This is to say that it is society that defines who is old, who is middle aged, etc., and what are the appropriate roles and activities for the various ages. Remember the life cycles from previous millenia. They included society specific prescriptions for activities at certain ages. Researchers working within this framework tend to concentrate on particular roles or careers. Coming from a social influence point of view, it has been simpler to follow this influence in the studying of a given role within units



like families or organizations. The study of how different roles are integrated within given individuals and then looking for mass patterns in this has proved difficult for proponents of this school. John Clausen, one of the sociologists working with age stratification summed up his view in the following paragraph from his essay on age roles (1972):

"In this essay we have been concerned with the ways in which age gives patterning to the life space and to the sequence of roles, relationships, and activities that make up the life course. Within all segments of society the years provide a structure of expectations, opportunities and challenges. If these are, to a considerable degree, integrated by the individuals who experience them, they remain largely unintegrated insofar as a general theory of the life course is concerned. Perhaps it is unrealistic to think of a theory of the life course. Perhaps we can only look forward to more limited theories relevant to aspects of the life course--for example, more adequate theories bearing on types of role transition in different kinds of social settings. It is hoped that the present essay has at least indicated some of the elements that will be incorporated in more adequate formulations in the future."<sup>7</sup>

Needless to say, there is a theory that integrates the various roles. However, before getting on to that there is one other thinker that I place within the socialization perspective, but outside sociology, that provides a bridge to Levinson's theory. This is the philosopher-historian Ortega y Gasset. Jose Ortega y Gasset published the following



views in his book Man and Crisis in 1958, As it is the work of a philosopher it remained out of currency vis a vis social science until the Levinson study in 1966. He proposed that within the study of a given life course and in the larger scaled study of history the concepts of age and generation are of paramount importance. In his words: "Life is time... limited time, time which comes to an end...Because of this man has an age. Age is the fact of man's being always in a certain sector of his scanty time-span, whether this be the beginning of his life's time, the climb toward its noon tide, its center, or the approach toward its end--in more customary terms whether he is a child, a youth, a grown man, or an old man...This means that every historic present, every today, involves three distinct times, three different todays...For some today is the state of being twenty, for others, forty..." (underlining is mine) "The group of those who are coevals in the circle of modern living together is what is called a generation. The concept of generation does not primarily imply more than these two things: to be of the same age and to have some vital contact..."

"At one time I pictured a generation as "a caravan within which man moves a prisoner, but at the same time, a voluntary one at heart, and content. He moves within it faithful to the poets of his age, to the political ideas of his time, to the type of woman triumphant in his youth, and even to the fashion of walking which he employed at twenty-five. From time to time he sees another caravan pass with a strange and curious profile; this is the other generation. Perhaps



celebrations on a feast day may bring the two together, may blend them; but as the hour of normal living approaches the somewhat chaotic fusion divides into two organic groups. Each individual mysteriously recognises all of the rest of his collectivity, as the ants in each ant hill recognize each other by a peculiar pattern of odor."<sup>9</sup>

It is important to appreciate the contrast of this view with Clausson's. What is of importance is a man's generation, his general time-stage as it fits in with his society's conceptions, not a specific role or occupation-stage or physical condition that one man may hold at a given time. Ortega y Gasset said, "Man is primarily his life--a certain span of years with its maximum length fixed in advance" (italics mine). "And his age, as we saw in a previous chapter, is first of all a stage in that trajectory, and not a state of his body or his soul."<sup>10</sup>

Ortega y Gasset's second contribution is his characterization of the generations. The kernel of this is to be found in a quote from Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus:

"the Old Man: We were young once, and brave and strong.

the Young Man: And so we're now--come on and try.

the Children: But we'll be strongest, by and by."

The actual life cycle that Ortega proposes is "...from the point of view which is important for history, man's life is divided into five ages of about fifteen years each--childhood, youth, initiation, dominance, and old age (=75). The truly historic stage is found in the two mature ages--initiation and dominance. Hence I would say that an historic generation





lives fifteen years of gestation and fifteen years of creation."<sup>12</sup>

In this scheme, youth is spent learning. At thirty man tends to become involved in ascending hierarchies, doing creative work expressing interest in the opposite sex and in families (actually Ortega y Gasset's work focuses on the male role, for he believes that in history so far, this is more relevant, on the whole). The second fifteen years of the major thirty-year period is the time when the man has risen up into the hierarchy and exercises power. Once again, this is not universal; this is a trend or tendency caused by society.

The Yale study was so structured that the investigators could apply differing perspectives in order to understand different aspects of the subjects' lives. However, over time the group created and refined a conception that combined a variety of perspectives. This concept has been termed the life structure. It can be explained in the following way. Using some conceptions from system theory, one can conceive of an individual as a complex system relating to other systems, functioning as a sub-system within a mega-system. If one studies a given person or sub-system through time, one can see a series of relationships with other systems. System theory tends to conceptualize interactions between systems in terms of intersystem systems, a distinct system connected to both that mediates the interaction. The pattern of the major intersystem-systems of an individual constitutes his life structure. Levinson, himself, defines it as "the pattern or design of a person's life, a meshing of self in the world".<sup>8</sup>



The key to the life structure is the word relationships. "Its primary components are one's relationships" with self either persons, groups or institutions, with all aspects of the external world that have significance in one's life. "These relationships have two aspects, internal and external. One has the actual intermeshing of systems or people. One also has the internal representation and processing of the relationship. Thus a relationship, a life structure component, can continue in a sense after the other system or person is no longer present.

When the conception of the life structure was introduced into the study of the subjects' life courses, a regular pattern of eras or stages appeared that was consistent throughout the cohort studied. These patterns were not clear if only one component, like family status, occupation, personality, etc., was followed. One can think of a person's life course as a tapestry that is woven over time or a musical composition that is played in time. The threads in the tapestry and the musical voices are the key components of the life structure. Given threads may continue through changes in the pattern, given voices may continue through divisions in the composition, or they may not. Only on looking at the general pattern of the cloth or listening to the musical piece with its full complement of voices do the general divisions become clear.

On closer inspection of the patterns within the Yale biographies more structure was found. The life structures had limitations in the number of major components, usually



not more than three. Often there was one particularly dominant component, such as a career. The eras had consistent and recurring functional characteristics. Periods that had structure building and maintaining activities alternated with periods of structural change. The former tended to last up to about ten years, the latter up to five. Within the group studied, the periods' onsets varied no more than five years. Important life events or markers occurred in various eras but were colored by the structure and character of the era in which it occurred. In some cases, specific circumstances overwhelmed the life cycle pattern and life structure. However, perturbations in the life structure still occurred at the "appropriate" times in response to whatever forces are responsible for the character of the life cycle.

Each era was found to have a character, a theme. These themes are related to Ortega y Gasset's ideas of age and generation, that one has a sense of how far along one is in the time allotted. There are, therefore, tasks connected with the given periods. The structure of a certain time requires certain actions, attempts. There are career decisions and then certain actions to follow-up on, and to follow through with, thereafter. This is obviously so with a family, and so on for other components. The transition period is the time of questioning past decisions, activities, and circumstances. This is measured against notions of what one can do and what time one has left. The end of a transition period produces choices which are then made and followed through upon, and a new structure follows.



This is both a life cycle and a theory of adult development, for it elucidates changing forms, and underlying structures and structural transformations. It is not essentially hierarchical in contrast to the developmental theories of Freud and Piaget. It is, however, evaluative. In studying a given life structure and a given life course one automatically evaluates the stability of that structure, the way tasks are performed, whether needs are met by the structure. To use the music composition analogy again, a musical piece has a structure in time. The end is not of greater importance or worth than the beginning. However, the quality of the execution of the performance is important, as is the quality of each part of the composition; how one reaches the middle, the end. In biography evaluation is commonplace, in social science it is a bit more controversial





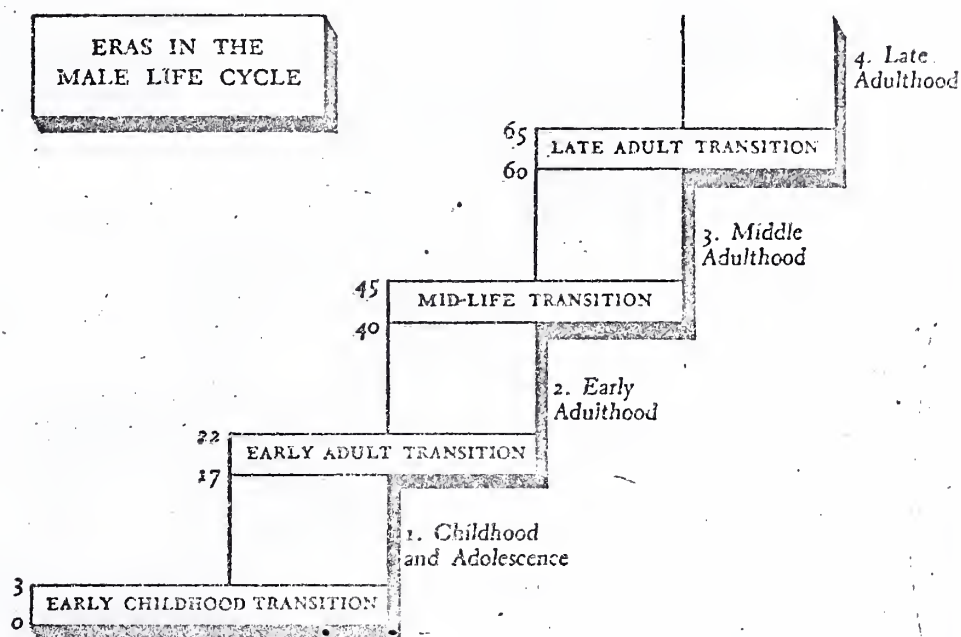
## Levinson Theory Summary<sup>1</sup>

We will now provide a brief summary of the Levinson scheme (also see Figs. 2 and 3). There are two sets of divisions of the life cycle, one on a larger scale. The first set includes preadulthood (--22 approx.), early adulthood (17-45), middle adulthood (40-65), and late adulthood (65--). These divisions were made with an eye to biological periods and to Ortega y Gasset's social-historical eras. The time span differs slightly from his, though the middle age crossover is the same, and the functional characteristics of the eras are the same. The eras, in turn, are divided into periods: the Early Adulthood Transition (17-22 approx.), Entering the Adult World (22-28 approx.), the Age 30 Transition (28-33), 33-40 Settling Down and Becoming One's Own Man, Middle Adult Transition (40-45), Entering Middle Adulthood (45-50), Age 50 Transition (50-55), Culmination of Middle Adulthood (55-60), Late Adult Transition (60-65), and Late Adulthood (65-). The age of onset of the periods had some variability, but not more than a few years (less than 5). The length of the transition periods also varies: the lengths listed above are averages. It should be remembered that the period 50 onwards has not yet been studied in great detail.

### Early Adulthood Transition

This period is the bridge from adolescence proper to early adulthood. In the Erikson scheme, this period moves from the ego conflict of identity vs. role confusion to the





The eras and the cross-era transitions are pictured above. Let us now briefly review the eras in turn.

## Pre-adulthood

Fig 2

The pre-adult era includes childhood, adolescence and the Early Adult Transition. During this time one ordinarily lives within the family or an equivalent social unit. The family provides protection, socialization and support of growth during our pre-adult years. With adequate development, we can be relatively self-sufficient members of society as we enter adulthood. In pre-adulthood we are relatively (though decreasingly) dependent and vulnerable, growing in the most elemental sense of the term.

The "transition into childhood" starts sometime before birth and continues for the first two or three years of separate life. In this period the infant develops into a separate person. He learns to distinguish the "me" from the "not-me" and to form a primordial sense of self. During this time he also comes to realize that other persons have an enduring existence and character. Another transition at 5 or 6 leads from early to



20 THE SEASONS OF A MAN'S LIFE

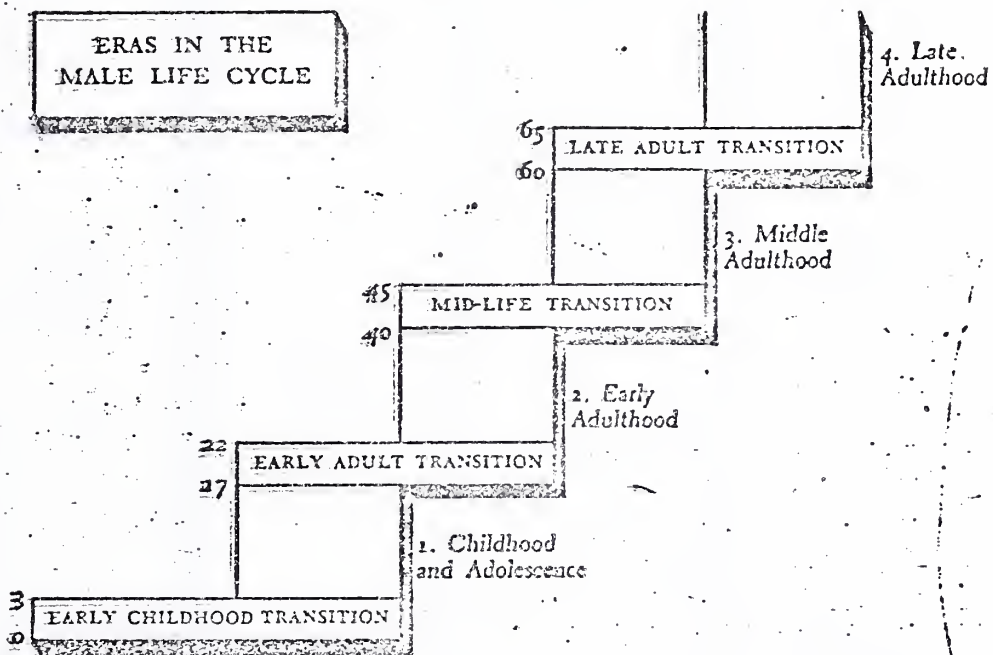


Fig. #2

From Daniel Levinson Seasons of a Man's Life P20  
( bib. # 27)



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# Normal Child Development

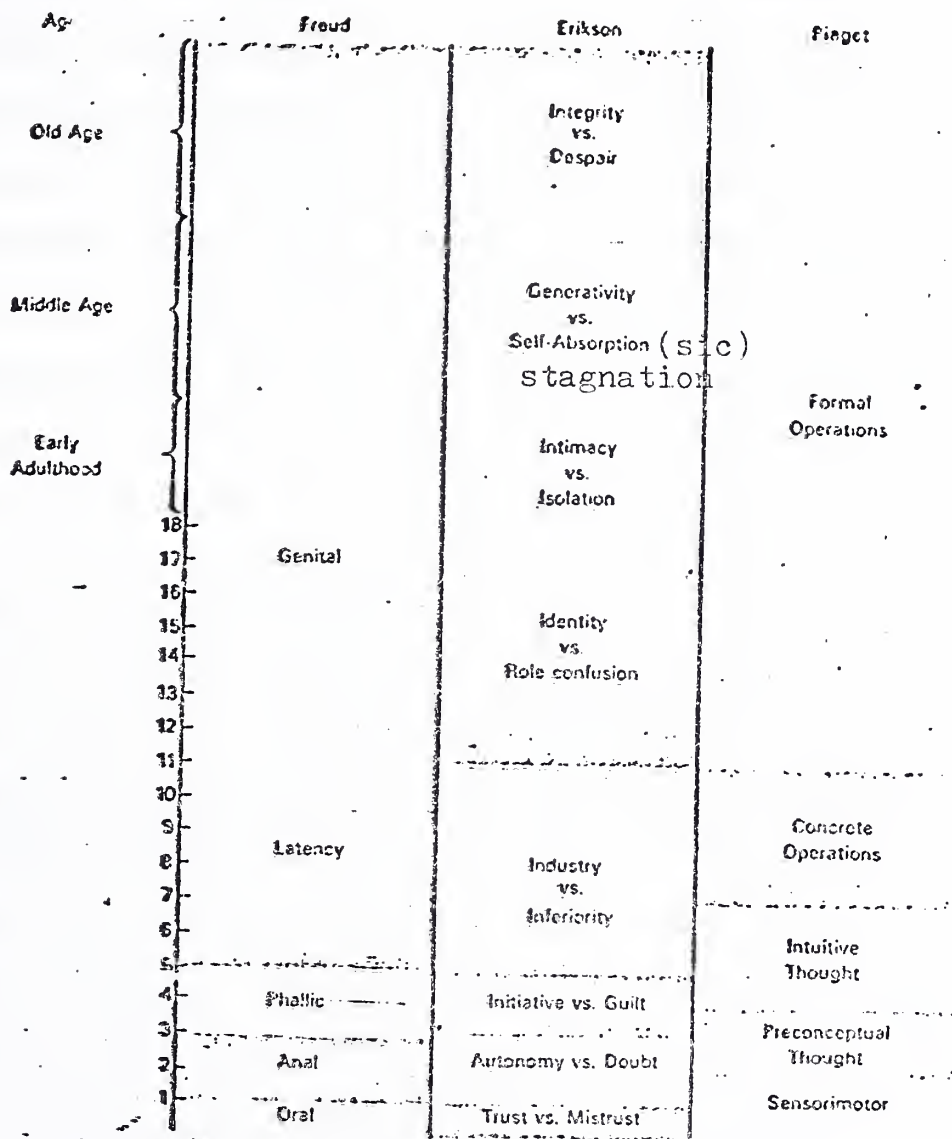


Fig #1

FIGURE 1 A comparison of the stage theories of Freud, Erikson, and Piaget.

From Leon Eisenberg "Normal Child Development"  
 in Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry Vol. II  
 edited by Freedman, Kaplan, and Sadock





next conflict of intimacy vs. isolation. This is further characterized in the Levinson scheme by two key tasks. The first is the termination of the adolescent life structure. The second is the preliminary entry into adulthood and the preliminary choices that that involves. It should be re-emphasized here that the way in which the tasks are met differ greatly. Often task one is accomplished by leaving the parental home. With this comes a preliminary choice, e.g., college, army, or work. However, these are merely different expressions or markers of the same underlying processes.

### Entering the Adult World

The key task of this period is the fashioning of the first life structure. This is a time of definition of self and values, love relationships and the testing out of the first dreams. Though it is a structure building period, it is a particularly exploratory one. It is the center of the Novice ear or phase. The era itself has four major tasks: 1) forming a Dream and giving it a place in the life structure, 2) forming Mentor relationships, 3) forming an occupation, 4) forming love relationships, marriage, and family.

At various times the Dream is more articulated, more clearly defined than others. The Dream is of particular importance in the life structure of early adulthood. One does not always follow the Dream in building a life structure sometimes one yields to family or circumstances or what have you. Whether followed or no, whether fulfilled or no, one's Dream exerts much force within the life course. The



The Dream is a factor in the life structure in general and in career choice in particular. There are, of course, external factors, e.g., the values of one's society, of one's family, of one's class. However, the Dream, the representation to one's self of what one wants to do, and be is of considerable importance. Sometimes this dream is closely linked to one of the other factors, sometimes not.

The second task, "forming a mentor", uses an old term in a new and different way. One dictionary definition says "a wise and trusted advisor". In its regular use, teacher and sponsor are also common meanings. Within Levinsonian theory the mentor is more than that. He is, or sometimes, they are important figures within many life structures. His functions are as teacher, sponsor within a hierarchy, host and guide to a new social world with different values, exemplar for a young man's role, and a counselor. Most importantly he supports and facilitates "the realization of the dream". The true mentor, in the meaning intended here, serves as an analogy in adulthood of the "good enough parent" for the child. He fosters the young adult's development by believing in him, sharing the youthful Dream and giving it his blessing, helping to define the newly emerging self in its newly discovered world, and creating a space in which the young man can work on a reasonably satisfactory life structure that contains the Dream."<sup>2</sup>

However, the actual role is not that of a parent. It is a transitional figure with some aspects of peer and some



of parent. He is almost always older, usually about half a generation older (10-15 years). It is a delicate role. Support must be given, but the mentor must not hold on too tightly. Its termination can be like the break with parents at the early adult transition, smooth or stormy depending on how hard the mentor holds on and how hard the pr tege tries to break free (usually at the end of the era).

The second two tasks are more self-explanatory. Remember that these are tasks or trends, not requirements. In some lives one aspect is favored over another. All affect one another, particularly the Dream. The Dream can support or abet a choice of mate, occupation, mentor. It can also oppose and subvert these if they were chosen for other reasons. At times, the Dream and mate combine to form another transitional figure, the Special (lived and Loving) Woman. In addition to her romantic and sexual relationship, she "helps to animate the part of the self that contains the young man's Dream. She facilitates his entry into the adult world and his pursuit of the Dream. She does this partly through her own actual efforts as teacher, guide, host, critic sponsor (i.e., mentor). At a deeper psychological level she enables him to project onto her his own internal feminine figure--the "anima" as Jung has depicted it--who generates and supports his heroic strivings".<sup>4</sup> At later stages this special figure is often integrated within the man's own personality (often at the midlife crisis). This allows the relationship to become more "real".



## Age 30 Transition

Around age 28 (sometimes as early as 26), a period of transition, review, and often turmoil begins. Three questions characterize this period: "What have I done with my life? What do I want to make of it? What new directions shall I choose?". This is a time when Ortega y Gasset's sense of finite time comes through. Meg Greenspan wrote in an essay that 30 is the age when one realizes that one can no longer die young, when one no longer is thought of as unrealized potential.<sup>4</sup> The life structure built in the twenties is reviewed. Sometimes it's scrapped, sometimes reaffirmed and given new impetus. If one hasn't married yet, there is often a push to do so now. Early marriages are reexamined. One pushes on from training into career building. Sometimes mentors are exchanged, as it were, at this point. For many men it is a troubled and stressful time. The exploratory twenties ends in this often urgent whirl of questioning and then one plunges into the thirties.

## The Settling Down Period

### Early Settling Down

The Settling Down Period (32-36) has two tasks: 1) to establish one's niche in society; 2) to work at advancement. Levinson describes this time in the following paragraph:

"The underlying task is to "settle for" a few key choices, to create a broader structure around them, to invest oneself as fully as possible in the various components of this structure (such as work, family, community, solitary interests, friendships) and to pursue long-range plans and





goals within it. A man has a stronger sense of urgency to "get serious", to be responsible, to decide what is truly important and shape his life accordingly."<sup>5</sup>

A recurring image of this period is the ladder. The man sets for himself the goal of ascending the ladder. Naturally he does not always succeed, particularly on a given ladder. Sometimes he must change ladders, sometimes he must settle for less. In the Yale study, five distinct sequences for traversing the Settling Down Period were noticed:

- A. Advancement within a stable life structure
- B. Serious failure or decline within a stable life structure
- C. Breaking out: trying for a new life structure
- D. Advancement which itself produces a change in life structure
- E. Unstable life structure

At this time, particularly in the early settling down period, a mentor is of particular importance. A rise within a hierarchy rarely can be accomplished by dazzling accomplishment alone. Advice, appreciation, and a "leg up" from someone already in the dominant generation and hierarchy is often needed.

#### Late Settling Down: Becoming One's Own Man (36-40)

The second portion of the settling down period shares many characteristics with the earlier. However, at this time movement starts toward a greater degree of independence, toward becoming "one's own man". There is a certain impetus



for this from within as one mounts the ladder toward positions of eminence, as one amasses achievements. There is a certain impetus from the outside as the person is groomed for roles of greater responsibility. But, more often than not, there are opposing forces as well. One's rise competes with others. As one gains power and position, others with power and position may feel threatened. One's mentor may not be willing to see his protege move off in his own direction. His needs for a "son", or even more strongly, an extension of himself, may make him hold on too tightly. On the other hand he may gracefully step back and let his protege fly on his own. Like adolescence, this period is usually somewhat rocky, at least.

In this period a life structure "figure" often emerges that is another aspect of the Dream. This is the idea of the culminating event. There is a tendency to see one's efforts in the journeyman status as arcing towards a particularly important achievement, an achievement particularly one's own. From Levinson, "This culminating event takes on a magical quality in his private fantasy. If it goes the right way, he will know that he has truly succeeded and is assured of a happy future. A poor outcome, on the other hand, will mean that he has failed in a profound sense, that not only his work but he as a person has been found wanting and without value...When a man experiences a developmental crisis in the late thirties, it stems from an overwhelming feeling that he cannot accomplish the tasks of Becoming One's Own Man."<sup>6</sup>



## The Mid-Life Transition 40 (38-43) - 45 (44-47)

The processes of the previous period lead logically to this, the most dramatic of the transitions. There are three major tasks:

- 1) The termination of the era of early adulthood. This implies a review and reappraisal of all that has gone on before and all that he has accomplished.
- 2) To deal with the polarities that are sources of division in his life.
- 3) To start the building of a new life structure, one appropriate to middle adulthood.

The first phase of this period is an examination of the past. One reviews one's life and achievements in relation to one's expectation and one's Dream. The Dream itself is reviewed. This is a time of major identity change, of symbolically losing one's youth. At such a time the youthful Dream often loses its momentum. Perhaps it hasn't been realized and one enters a slump, faced with the task of reconciling one's self to the notion of failure. Perhaps a glorious culminating event has been achieved, but one discovers that one is still growing old and the sought-after achievement has not given permanent paradise.

Illusions are a keynote at this time. They have played an important if unacknowledged role heretofore. "Early adulthood provides a fertile ground for illusions. Individual capabilities and drives are at their peak. A man must "believe in" himself--even in the face of reality if need



be."<sup>7</sup> In this reappraisal one is faced with one's illusions. The task of the time is "de-illusionment" a term coined to involve the purely negative connotations of "disillusionment". To be disillusioned is not merely to have lost one's illusions; it is to become cynical, estranged, "unable to believe in anything...The process of losing or reducing illusions involves diverse feelings--disappointment, joy, relief, bitterness, grief, wonder, freedom, and has diverse outcomes. A man may feel bereft and have the experience of suffering an irreparable loss. He may also feel liberated, free to develop more flexible values and to admire others in a more genuine, less idealizing way."<sup>8</sup>

The reappraisal leads to a confrontation of "the Great Polarities" as Levinson calls them. The polarities come from Jung's theory of individuation. The midlife crisis is the time when the outer forces producing the rise in the adult world slack, leaving the neglected aspects of the self, the roads not taken, to have more sway, more allure. The major polarity faced at this juncture is the Young/Old polarity, that of the "puer" and the "senex" in Jungian parlance. This age is the balance point between the roles. At this time images of what Levinson termed the "Legacy" become important. What will he leave behind him, in achievement, in worldly goods, in family, and in friendships? The others are the destruction/creation polarity, the masculine/feminine polarity, and the attachment/separateness polarity. The destruction/creation polarity is reviewed as one faces one's hates and mistakes, how one has been destructive. This





particular polarity is a result of the chickens coming home to roost. The feminine/masculine becomes important as neglected or covered aspects come forth in this search for a core identity and directions. Attachment/separateness is a recurring conflict throughout life (note Erikson's intimacy vs. isolation of the early adult years). It is, of course, re-examined at the midlife transition. Here it is seen in a context of reworking priorities, particularly after the "achievement in career" tone that often colors the previous period. On the other hand it is also seen in the contest of moving away from others in achieving a greater degree of self-definition.

There is no intention here of saying or implying that individuation first occurs at 40, or that the task is completed at one blow. Yet this is a period when there often is an upsurge in the process.

The third task of this transition is to modify, or start the modifications of the life structure in accord with the life reappraisal and individuation work. Sometimes this means a major break with the forms of the past. Sometimes there is a deepening or a shift in emphasis. The goal is to build a structure that is suitable to oneself and one's stage in the life cycle. There are at least three important parts to this task. The Dream needs to be modified, reworked. The marriage and family need to be "readjusted". One's relationships to fellow workers needs to be redefined in terms of the transition into the dominant generation. One becomes a senior to the younger men, a peer to others in the dominant



generation. This is the time that one's generativity, one's mentoring, tends to become an important part of one's functions.

#### Entering Middle Adulthood (45-50 approx.)

The period in question starts in a functional sense when the center of activity shifts from questioning and reviewing to structure building. The period is not necessarily a stable one, much effort is needed to make this new structure work. In a sense this time has certain aspects in common with the structure building period in the twenties; there is a particularly exploratory quality to it. The goal is, of course, to build an integrated structure, but, "an integrated structure may emerge early or late in Entering Middle Adulthood, or not at all. A man stays in this period, however, as long as his predominant developmental task is to create a satisfactory structure. The period ends when the task changes and he enters a new transition."<sup>9</sup>

We are now at the frontiers of the Levinson work. The official study ended with the above period. However, some preliminary work has been done in the later phases of the life course and it will be summarized here.

#### Age 50 Transition (50-55 approx.)

This period has a reciprocal relation with the preceding transitional period. If the midlife transition was active, this transition tends to be smooth and undramatic, involving minor readjustments. If the midlife transition was not active, this period can be particularly difficult. This period ushers in the senior and dominant half of the dominant



generation.

#### Culmination of Middle Adulthood (55-60)

The task here is to build and oversee the second life structure of middle age.

#### Late Adult Transition (60-65 approx.)

This transition carries the individual from his role as a member of the dominant generation into that of old age. The roles again change. By and large active participation in the ladder is given up at this time. This is the time of Erikson's "integrity vs. despair" conflict. A man looks back on his "time on the stage" and either accepts it and himself or is crushed by it.

There is some indication that old age has subdivisions, and transitions. There may be a transition around 80.

#### Summary

The important concept in the Levinson theory is the life structure. This is the pattern or system of a man's relationships in the world. Using this concept to integrate factors from personality, career, family, society, etc. Levinson's group found that there was a definite pattern in common in all the lives studied. There were large eras and smaller periods within them. These periods in the life cycle were age linked with a variability not exceeding five years. The cause for this order is not known but it is believed that it comes from a variety of forces and systems: biological, personality oriented, social, etc. The periods have certain



functional characteristics that are the basis of their definition, certain tasks or characteristics in common.

The notion of an order that diverse lives have in common is often hard to accept on first hearing. To this I would say, consider the human life span. Humans individually and collectively have a sense of how much time they have and how one's age relates to this length of time. Out of this is born a conception of roles that people can play, accommodations to their reality as defined by age. It is hard to conceive of being infinitely accommodating to each passing moment. One instead develops structures to cope. Since one ages, one's role changes. The structure that one develops to cope with a given reality must be changed when the role change is too great. Aging demands a succession of role changes, therefore structural changes. Since we share a notion of our calendar, we share to a great extent the pattern of changing structures build to accommodate this calendar.





## Section II

### Family Background and Childhood

The focus of this paper is adult development. In chronicling Jung's life, major emphasis will, of course, be given to the ages covered by the Yale study (18- 0 approx.) However, no life study can ignore the importance of the family and the early developmental periods. A man's life is akin to the musical form, the theme and variations. The pattern of the variations is interesting and important, but one cannot ignore the original theme. Though we will "run out of theory" we will also touch upon Jung's later years.



## Forbears

All discussions of Carl Gustav Jung (July 26, 1875-June 6, 1961) make at least passing mention of his grandfather, Carl Gustav Jung (1774-1864). Though there was no overlap in time (in fact, all of Jung's grandparents were dead by the time of his birth) he was a larger than life figure in the city of Basel and within Jung's family. The senior C. Jung was the son of a German physician and was a physician in his own right as well as an amateur poet. He studied in Heidelberg, left for Paris (after becoming peripherally involved with a revolutionary movement and jailed for it). Once in Paris, he was invited to take up a post at the medical school at the University of Basel, Switzerland. He became a Swiss citizen and married a waitress upon being spurned by the family of the daughter of the mayor of Basel. Aniela, the ex-waitress, bore him two children and then died. The elder Jung went back to the mayor of Basel and this time obtained from him Sophie Frey (conveniently still single) as his wife. In later years he became Grand Master of the Swiss Freemasons, Rector of the University of Basel, and the rather strict father of thirteen children.

Two aspects of this respected gentleman deserve special attention here. The first is that he founded the Institute for Good Hope for psychically disturbed children. Of this hospital he wrote:

"In our age, where attention of so many doctors is occupied with the psychic aspect of medical science to such



an extent that special periodicals are being devoted to this subject, it would undoubtedly be greatly to the credit of any university to found an institution where it would be possible to study such cases objectively under the direction of a professor. I am not thinking of the usual type of mental hospital where, for the most part, all the cases are incurable, but of a hospital that would take patients of all kinds and endeavor to heal them by psychic methods. "<sup>1</sup>

It's rather remarkable for the 1830's. It is also significant considering the course of the life of his grandson, whom he never knew.

The other noteworthy aspect of this man is his parentage. Though officially he was the son of a Jung, his mother, Sophie Zigler-Jung was supposed to have had a liaison with Johann Goethe (yes, the Goethe) which resulted in Carl Gustav senior. Though C. Jung the younger changed his official opinion on the matter several times, he referred to Goethe in some correspondence as his great grandfather (in Freud letters). The figure of Goethe and Goethe's Faust were of particular interest and importance to C. Jung (junior) and this identification probably had much effect on the course of Jung's work.

While we're in this neck of the family tree, it should be pointed out that Jung's paternal great grandmother, the Sophie Jung in question, had a psychotic break. On this matter Jung wrote in 1960: "Sophie Ziegler-Jung's mental illness has absorbed me again. The only documents relating to this are some letters of hers in my possession. The



handwriting shows no schizophrenic traits but rather, for all its character, an emotional ravement such as can be observed in psychogenic melancholias."<sup>2</sup> One can't know whether he was right about that. The matter is of interest because of Jung's crisis at 38-42 and the unusual quality of his dreams and visions throughout his life.

On the other side, Jung's maternal grandfather was Samuel Preiswerk, Antiste of Basel (supposedly akin to a Bishop, according to Jung). It was said of him that he had "second sight" and was supposed to have had conversations with the dead. According to Jung: "I did not know my maternal grandfather personally. But from everything I heard of him, his Old Testament name Samuel must have suited him very well...He was a rather peculiar and original man who always believed himself to be surrounded by ghosts. My mother often told me how she had to sit behind him when he wrote his sermons because he could not bear ghosts to pass behind him while he was studying. The presence of a living human being at this back frightened them away!"<sup>3</sup> Supposedly there were a few other psychics in this branch of the family, including his maternal grandmother and a cousin, Helene Preiwerk, that became the subject of Jung's doctoral thesis.

The youngest and thirteenth children of each of the colorful gentlemen respectively mentioned above, Johann Paul Achilles Jung (1842-1896) and Emilie Preiswerk (1848-1923) were the parents of our Carl Gustav Jung. Paul Jung, as he was known, distinguished himself in his university days as a linguist. His specialty had been oriental languages and his





thesis was on the Arabic version of the Song of Songs. In fact, he taught his son, Carl, Latin at an early age fostering the love of classics and humanities that was (paradoxically for a man with "scientific" ambitions) to characterize him in adulthood. C. Jung said of his father, "His days of glory ended with his final examination. Thereafter he forgot his linguistic talent. As a country parson he lapsed into a sort of sentimental idealism and into reminiscences of his golden student days, continued to smoke a long student's pipe, and discovered that his marriage was not all he had imagined it to be."<sup>4</sup> J. Paul Jung's occupational choice was based on family precedent (two other brothers were ministers) and economic factors. There was a family fund supporting family members who went into the ministry. As the thirteenth child of Carl Gustav Jung there were not too many alternatives, economic or occupational, for a man of Paul Jung's education.

He courted and married Emilie Preiswerk under circumstances termed "the most conventionally correct". There is no record of the actual date of the marriage. However, because of the six years in age difference, Paul Jung's university years and seminary years, and the fact that Carl Gustav was the third (though first surviving)<sup>5</sup> child in rapid succession, the marriage probably took place around 1870-1872 when Paul was 28-30 and Emilie was 22-24. When Carl was born, Paul had a post in the village of Kesswil (age 33). Six months later he received a post in the village of Laufen. Four years later he received his next and final



post at Klein-Hunigen near Basel (age 37). It was around this time that his wife was "hospitalized" for what amounted to psychiatric reasons (according to Carl)<sup>6</sup>, reasons relating to strains in the marriage. There was a gap of nine years between Carl and the next and last child, Gertrude, a gap ascribed by Jung and his biographers to the marital relation rather than contraception. Paul was 42 when Gertrude Jung was born. It was shortly after this that his son noticed signs that his father was troubled by matters of religion and faith. This spilled over into family life, expressed as irascibility toward various family members, in contrast to his former more easy going, passive style. It seems that he went into a decline. He became hypochondriacal. There was a brief resurgence of spirit when Carl entered the university, as Paul could relive vicariously his university days. Shortly thereafter (summer 1895--age 53) he became ill with stomach cancer, declined during the fall, and died early in 1896.

Though the account of his life is sketchy there are sufficient details to attempt to brief reconstruction of the pattern of his life. In his early adult transition, Paul Jung made a preliminary life choice of a scholar's life. It appears that he was suited to this role. However, it was not possible (or at least not sufficiently easy) for him to continue as such. His early adult stage was characterized by his choosing an occupation made easy by circumstances. This choice was not totally incompatible, for a minister's role has many elements in common with a scholar's. Around



the age thirty transition he married, tried to start a family and began to establish himself in his profession. His choice of spouse, the daughter of a noted clergyman in Basel, was compatible with his new structure, if not his old Dream. According to Jung, this marriage was already in difficulty by the time Jung was two, between Jung's third and fourth year Emilie Preiswerk-Jung was hospitalized (Paul was 36 or so). The life structure was flawed.

Barbara Hannah, a student, colleague and biographer of Jung (and also the offspring of a pastor) wrote on this marriage: "This is, I think, at bottom, the result of Christianity being a religion it is impossible to live up to, because it does not allow enough room for the dark side of man...All practicing or even professing Christians suffer constantly from a bad conscience because they feel they should be living a completely unattainable perfection. They naively hope their clergy men do know how to do this...It is clear with such surrounding expectations, that a particularly sharp eye is kept on the marriages of clergy men, that they are lived in the limelight, so to speak. Both partners usually do their utmost to live up to the ideal of marriage that is expected of them and this is a terrible strain. Moreover, it is not only what is expected of them by other people, but, far worse, what they expect of themselves. Jung said that both his "parents made great efforts to live devout lives, with the result that there were angry scenes between them all too frequently. These difficulties later shattered my father's faith". Later he said frankly: "My



parents' marriage was not a happy one, but full of trials and difficulties and tests of patience. Both made mistakes typical of many couples.""<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand Paul Jung had some gifts within the family sphere. He seems to have been a loving and tender father, unlike his own father who was more of a tyrant. In his memoirs, C. Jung recalls incidents of altruism and self-sacrifice, where hard-earned money was given to Carl for a sightseeing trip. "Father meant reliability--and powerlessness."<sup>8</sup> There is one particularly beautiful passage looking back on the time when his mother was hospitalized and Jung himself suffered from eczema and other troubles, probably of a psychosomatic nature: "Yet another image; I am restive, feverish, unable to sleep. My father carries me in his arms, paces up and down, singing his old student songs. I particularly remember one I was especially fond of and which always used to soothe me, 'Alles schweige jeder neige...' The beginning went somethin like that. To this day I can remember my father's voice, singing over me in the stillness of the night."<sup>9</sup>

The marriage was not abruptly improved after Emilie Jung's hospitalization. At this time, Paul Jung accepted a post at Klein-Huningen. This move probably represented a climbing of the professional ladder that characterizes this time of life. A few years later the family life was still very strained." But the suffocation returned in the anxiety dreams. I see in this a psychogenic factor: the atmosphere of the house was beginning to be unbreathable."<sup>10</sup> At the





age of 42 the Jungs had a daughter. Evidently the changes that occur at the midlife transition were sufficient to readjust the marital relation to the extent that they had another child. However, this period with its questioning of the forms of the past and inner needs seems to have eroded Paul Jung's faith. According to his son, this sense of the hollowness of the father's life was an undercurrent of the structure of the early middle adulthood. At this time Paul Jung gave Carl his only piece of advice on the career options ahead of him, "Be anything you like, except a theologian."<sup>10</sup>

During the years 1892-1894, "his irritability and discontent had increased, and his condition filled me with concern...It was clear that something was tormenting him, and I suspected that it had to do with his faith. From a number of hints he let fall, I was convinced that he suffered from religious doubts. This was bound to be the case if the necessary experience had not come to him...I had a dim premonition that he was inescapably succumbing to his fate. He was lonely and had no friend to talk with."<sup>11</sup>

Paul Jung's midlife structure did not resolve his doubts or the contradictions in his life, the life of a Swiss pastor who was losing faith, who had no direct mystical experiences (unlike his son) to sustain him, but who had to continue in his role as "a man of God". Thus his age fifty transition hit him with a vengeance (1892--). Barbara Hannah said on this subject, "He (C. G. Jung) told me many



years later that at the time he had no doubt his father had died because he could not solve his religious dilemma. He even thought that at least a contributory cause to cancer was probably the patient's inability to solve a problem. Then he said, for many years, indeed for most of his life, his medical training taught him to assume that it was a purely physical disease with an unknown but undoubtedly physical cause. At the end of his life he reopened the question, because he had seen many deaths from cancer where the patient struggled with an unresolved conflict."<sup>12</sup>

Emilie Preiswerk was born in 1848, thirteenth and last child of the eminent, though eccentric Samuel Preiswerk. She was said to be bright and well educated in her youth, slender and attractive. She was married around the age of 22 and promptly proceeded to have three children. Only the third child, Carl Gustav, lived beyond the perinatal period. She was 27 at the time. At this time she was described as "happy and laughing but subject to fits of depression". At the age of thirty, in 1878, she was hospitalized for several months for psychiatric reasons related to stress in her marriage. She returned home but the family situation did not improve to any great extent for quite some time. There was a change by 1884 when, at the age of 36, she bore a daughter, Gertrude. There are no other major events in her life recorded save her husband's death in 1896 when she was 47. She died in 1923, quite suddenly, at the age of 75.



There is a paucity of the information needed to give a real developmental profile. She married at the onset of Early Adult period (ENTERING the Adult World). During this period she set up her married life and had three children. She recovered from the trauma of the loss of two infants. In general she tried to cope with the small town life of a small town pastor's wife. Her discontent increased as she hit the age thirty transition. At age 30 she was "hospitalized" as her discontent grew beyond manageable bounds. She returned to her husband and family and tried to rebuild and maintain her family, her life structure. There were continuing difficulties in this structure building period. By the time she was 36 and in the second phase of this structural period, her relationship with her husband allowed them to have another child. The Emilie Preiswerk-Jung of this period was described by her son: "My mother was a very good mother. She had a hearty animal warmth, cooked wonderfully and was most companionable and pleasant. She was very stout and a ready listener. She also liked to talk and her chatter was like the gay splashing of a fountain. She had a decided literary gift as well as taste and depth. But this quality never properly emerged; it remained hidden beneath the semblance of a kindly fat.. woman, extremely hospitable, and possessor of a great sense of humor."<sup>13</sup>

She was chronologically in her early middle adult period when her husband went through his fifties crisis.



Her supportive stance is in accord with this structural period. There was no great falling apart when he died. Her son took over the role of head of the house and managed monetary affairs just as his father had done. Information on her later life is too sketchy to permit speculation.

Emilie Jung, the childhood spooker of spooks, was a much more colorful and complex figure than the above sketch reveals. It was in some of her non-developmental traits, certain "stable" (at least in the sense of constancy over time) attributes of personality that this woman was remarkable and a strangely, fitting mother for her unusual son. Jung described her in his memoirs:

"She held all the conventional opinions a person was obliged to have, but then her unconscious personality would suddenly put in an appearance. That personality was unexpectedly powerful: a somber imposing figure possessed of unassailable authority--and no bones about it. I was sure that she consisted of two personalities, one innocuous and human, the other uncanny. This emerged only now and then, but each time it was unexpected and frightening. She would then speak as if talking to herself. But what she said was aimed at me and usually struck to the core of my being, so that I was stunned into silence."

The first such example recollected in the memoirs occurred when Jung was six. At that time the Jungs had neighbors who had children who were exemplars. "My mother annoyed me to no end with her comparisons and admonishments: Now look at those nice children, so well brought up and





polite, but you behave like a little lout. Such exhortations humiliated me and I decided to give the boy a hiding-- which I did. He mother was furious, hastened to mine and made a great to-do over my act of violence. My mother was properly horrified and gave me a lecture, spiced with tears, longer and more passionate than anything I had ever heard from her before. I had not been conscious of any fault: on the contrary, I was feeling pretty pleased with myself, for it seemed to me that I had somehow made amends for the incongruous presence of this stranger in our village. Deeply awed by my mother's excitement, I withdrew penitently to my table beneath our old spinet and began playing with my bricks. For some time there was silence in the room. My mother had taken her usual seat by the window, and was knitting. Then I heard her muttering to herself, and from occasional words that I picked up I gathered that she was thinking about the incident, but was now taking another view of it. Suddenly she said aloud, "Of course one should never have kept a litter like that!" I realized at once that she was talking about those "dressed-up monkeys". Her favorite brother was a hunter who kept dogs and was always talking about dog breeding, mongrels, purebreds, and litters. To my relief I realized that she too regarded those odious children as inferior whelps and that her scolding need not be taken at face value. But I also knew, even at that age, that I must keep perfectly still and not come out triumphantly with, "You see, you think as I do!" She would have repudiated the idea indignantly, "You horrid boy, how dare you pretend



such a thing about your mother!" I conclude from this that I must have already have had earlier experiences of a similar nature which I have forgotten.

There was an enormous difference between my mother's two personalities. That was why as a child I often had anxiety dreams about her. By day she was a loving mother, but at night she seemed uncanny. Then she was like one of those seers who is at the same time a strange animal, like a priestess in a bear's cave. Archaic and ruthless; ruthless as truth and nature. At such moments she was the embodiment of what I have called this "natural mind". (The mind that says absolutely straight and ruthless things.) That is the sort of mind which springs from natural sources, and not from opinions taken from books; it wells up from the earth like a natural spring and brings with it the peculiar wisdom of nature....In the course of my life it has often happened to me that I suddenly knew something which I really could not know at all. The knowledge came to me as though it were my own idea. It was the same with my mother. She did not know what she was saying; it was like a voice wielding absolute authority, which said exactly what fitted the situation."<sup>14</sup>

It should be noted that Jung felt that his mother was not particularly reliable in her "normal mode". There was one incident when his mother told Jung of a problem of his father that alarmed him. Before he had a chance to check on it she changed her tune, and indeed it turned out that the



problem had not really existed. "From then on I decided to divide everything my mother said by two. My confidence in her was strictly limited and that was what prevented me from ever telling her about my deeper preoccupations.

But then came moments when her second personality burst forth and what she said on those occasions was so true and to the point that I trembled before it. If my mother could then have been pinned down, I would have had a wonderful interlocutor."<sup>15</sup>

The most famous example of his mother's #2 came after her husband died. "The following days were gloomy and painful and little of them has remained in my memory. Once my mother spoke to me or to the surrounding air in her 'second voice', and remarked, "He died in time for you." Which appeared to mean, "you did not understand each other and he might have been a hindrance to you."..

The words 'for you' hit me terribly hard..<sup>16</sup>

We do not know when or how this trait of Emilie Jung's came about or even how it changed over time. It is hard to assess from the vantage point of 1980 how much of her peculiarity was really hers and how much was invested in her by her son. Paul Stern, author of a critical and controversial biography of Jung, wrote, "The figure of the mother would undoubtedly have appeared less demonic to the boy if her energies, languishing in her marriage, had not focused too exclusively on him, her oldest surviving--and for nine years, her only--child. To be the focus of his mother's fierce attention imbued Carl with a sense of election, but



also scorched his budding emotional life."<sup>17</sup> All of the various biographers are agreed that this woman probably was quite remarkable and her peculiarity, as it were, is consonant with certain aspects of her son. Whether one wishes to take C. Jung's evaluation as it was or to modify it slightly is a matter that must be left up to the individual reader and his outlook.





## Early Childhood

Carl Gustav Jung was born to the above-mentioned Johann Paul and Emilie Preiswerk Jung on July 26, 1875, their first surviving child. The place was Kesswil, on the shores of Lake Constance in the Swiss-German canton of Thurgovia. He was born into a religious family, a pastoral family with ministers permeating both sides of the family tree. He was born into a somewhat troubled household, though not more so than many. He was born into the nineteenth century Swiss society, where (in the words of one writer) "women wore skirts which almost swept the ground, the family was sacred and unquestioned the relations between the sexes required chaperons for innumerable innocent occasions, religion permeated all areas of life, a prolonged engagement preceded marriage, and sex was regarded as an unfortunate prerequisite of reproduction. The conspiracy of silence about sexual matters was profound and premarital intercourse heavily frowned upon."<sup>1</sup>

These are some of the givens, the baggage of the developmental journey. Unfortunately we have no record of the first three years of this journey. Apparently nothing outrageously untoward happened. Since we have only Jung's own account from these years we can start with his earliest memories (at least the ones he was willing to write about). The Jungs, as you will recall, had moved to Laufen in 1875. "My first memories begin with my second or third year. I recall the vicarage, the garden, the laundry house, the



church, the castle, the Falls, the small castle of Worth, and the sexton's farm. These are nothing but islands of memory afloat in a sea of vagueness, each by itself, apparently with no connection between them.

One memory comes up which is perhaps the earliest of my life, and is indeed only a rather hazy impression. I am lying in a pram, in the shadow of a tree. It is a fine, warm summer day, the sky blue, and golden sunlight darting through green leaves. The hood of the pram has been left up. I have just awakened to the glorious beauty of the day, and have a sense of indescribably well-being. I see the sun glittering through the leaves and blossoms of the bushes. Everything is wholly wonderful, colorful, and splendid."<sup>2</sup>

Jung then gives several other memories, each vivid, almost tactual, romantic, and visionary. One focuses on snow covered Swiss mountains at sunset, another on Lake Constance and the visual effect of light on the water. It is as if one were encountering the memories of a Turner, or better yet, a Blake.

There are other memories of food and warmth and being well cared for. Brome said, "Clearly, his mother in the first few years of his life surrounded him with that warmth and affection which most psychiatrists regard as a prerequisite of a well adjusted person."<sup>3</sup> In an interview with Jung, Brome suggested that "childhood amnesia easily obliterates memories too unpleasant to recollect, and Jung admitted that there may have been early episodes he successfully suppressed all his life." Jung then added, "But



generally speaking my very early years were happy ones. The troubles came after that."<sup>4</sup>

The period of Jung's troubles appears to have started with his mother's prolonged hospitalization. It is not clear whether any of the tensions leading up to the hospitalization touched him, but there are a number of indications that the situation itself was stressful, in the extreme. During her absence he contracted severe generalized eczema which in his opinion "must have been connected with the temporary separation of my parents. From then on, I always felt mistrustful when the word 'love' was spoken. The feeling I associated with 'woman' was for a long time that of innate unreliability. Father on the other hand, meant reliability and--powerlessness. That is the handicap I started off with."<sup>5</sup>

Nor was this the most serious of the manifestations of his distress. At this time he was under the care of the family maid and she was on hand when young Carl attempted to get off the Nenhausen Bridge over the Rhine Falls at an architecturally inappropriate point. "The maid caught me just in time--I already had one leg under the railing and was about to slip through. These things point to an unconscious suicidal urge or, it may be, to a fatal resistance to live in this world."<sup>6</sup> Of course it is difficult to evaluate fully such an action in a three to four year old child. Yet, considering the family circumstances at the time, and the other signs, like the eczema, of a profound unhappiness, it must be taken seriously. Particularly



considering the mode, for fear of heights and falling is instinctive and strong.

The maid in question became a figure of much importance to Jung. "I still remember her picking me up and laying my head against her shoulder. She had black hair and an olive complexion, and was quite different from my mother. I can see, even now, her hairline, her throat, with its darkly pigmented skin, and her ear. All this seemed to me very strange and yet strangely familiar. It was as though she belonged not to my family but only to me, as though she were connected in some way with other mysterious things I could not understand. This type of girl later became a component of my anima (personification of the feminine nature of a man's unconscious). The feeling of strangeness which she conveyed, and yet of having known her always, was a characteristic of that figure which later came to symbolize for me the whole essence of womanhood."<sup>7</sup>

There are two important factors to be considered here, one is the power of the family situation itself. The other is the developmental stage in which Jung was situated with its particular tasks, conflicts and susceptibilities. Since the former has already been discussed, we will not attend to the latter. If you look back and consult Fig. #// you will see that Jung was in the phallic stage according to the Freudian system and the initiative vs. guilt stage in the Eriksonian system.

In Erikson's Childhood and Society, "There is in every child at every stage a new miracle of virorous unfolding,





which constitutes a new hope and a new responsibility for all. Such is the sense and the pervading quality of initiative...Initiative adds to autonomy the quality of undertaking, planning and 'attacking' a task for the sake of being active and on the move, where before self will, more often than not, inspired acts of defiance or, at any rate, protested independence...

The ambulatory stage and that of infantile genitality add to the inventory of basic social modalities that of making: first in the sense of 'being on the make'. There is no simpler, stronger word for it; it suggests pleasure in attack and conquest. In the boy, the emphasis remains on phallic-intrusive modes...

The danger of this stage is a sense of guild over the goals contemplated and the acts initiated in one's exuberant enjoyment of new locomotor and mental power..Infantile jealousy and rivalry, those often embittered and yet essentially futile attempts at demarcating a sphere of unquestioned privilege, now come to a climax in a final contest for a favored position with the mothers: the usual failure leads to resignation, guilt and anxiety. The child indulges in fantasies of being a giant and a tiger, but in his dreams he runs in terror for dear life. This, then, is the stage of the castration complex, the intensified fear of finding the (now energetically erotized) genitals harmed as a punishment for the fantasies attached to their excitement." "At any rate the oedipal stage results not only in the oppressive establishment of a moral sense restricting the



horizon of the permissible; it also permits the dreams of early childhood to be attached to the goals of an active adult life."<sup>8</sup>

The initiative and the guild make this a precarious time for a child, he is left quite vulnerable to family stress and related events. Prolonged absence of a parent can be interpreted personally, i.e., its causes can be ascribed to personal actions and thoughts. In Jung's case there were certain mitigating factors, for his father was with him so that there was some continuity in parenting. It should also be noted that Jung's father was more talented than his society's norm for his fex in supplying the nurturing aspects of parenting. There also was the crucial presence of this maid of the exotic guise. It would seem that with their influence and his own resources, Jung emerged from this troubled time without a real crippling of his initiative. However, as he himself pointed out, it had an effect on his attitudes and preconceptions toward women. I believe the case to be even stronger than that. It was not merely that this woman became one of Jung's internalized images of women. This woman, and the total situation at this crucial period in childhood, haunted Jung sufficiently that he was driven to recreate this triad configuration in his family during his midlife crisis. At that later time he had a wife who fulfilled (whether through her own character or through Jung's projection) a somestic, maternal role, and a "maitresse officiele", named Antonia Wolfe, a woman of dark, exotic



appearance. Nor was it a matter of the anima just influencing his choice of mistress, for Jung insisted on including this woman in his professional and in his family life; she became Aunt Toni to his children (though not when his back was turned).<sup>10</sup>

In his memoirs this time of life is notable for demonstrating the dark fears and nightmares for which the period is famous. He complained of vague fears at night and hearing "things walk about the house". This early home was near a particularly treacherous part of the Rhine River and corpses were continuously being found and Jung's father was called upon to officiate at the burial. The bodies and the proceedings were a source of daytime fascination to young Carl, but they also combined with his night fears. His mother, in a time honored tradition, gave him a bedtime prayer to ward off the fears of the night. It is repeated here, both because Jung's account of it is amusing, and because it became enwrapped in Jung's fantasy life with more far reaching consequences:

Spread out thy wings, Lord Jesus mild  
And take to thee thy chick, thy child.  
"If Satan would devour it,  
No Harm shall over power it,"  
So let the Angels sing!

Lord Jesus was comforting, a nice benevolent gentleman like Herr Wegenstein up at the castle, rich, powerful, respected, and mindful of little children at night. Why he should be winged like a bird was a conundrum that did not



worry me any further. Far more significant and thought-provoking was the fact that little children were compared to chicks which Lord Jesus evidently "took" reluctantly, like bitter medicine. This was difficult to understand. But I understood at once that Satan like chicks and had to be prevented from eating them. So, although Lord Jesus did not like the taste, he ate them anyway, so that Satan would not get them. As far as that went, my argument was comforting. But now I was hearing that Lord Jesus "took" other people to himself as well, and that this taking was the same as putting them in a hole in the ground.

This sinister analogy had unfortunate consequences. I began to distrust Lord Jesus. He lost the aspect of a big, comforting, benevolent bird and became associated with the gloomy black men in frock coats, top hats, and shiny black boots who busied themselves in the black box."<sup>11</sup>

The sinister aspects of "Lord Jesus", the dark aspects of the vengeful oedipal God, became associated by a series of accidents with black garbed clergymen, particularly Jesuits. From this a pall was cast over all of the "Christian Doctrine" which he had been taught. Around this time Jung had one of the most classically Jungian of dreams both in the sense of "Jungian" symbolism and in the sense of particular to Carl Jung. In some ways it is also classic of this developmental period:

"The vicarage stood quite alone near Laufen castle, and there was a big meadow stretching back from the sexton's farm. In the dream I was in this meadow. Suddenly I





discovered a dark rectangular stone-lined hole in the ground. I had never seen it before. I ran forward curiously and peered down into it. Then I saw a stone stairway leading down. Hesitantly and fearfully, I descended. At the bottom was a doorway with a round arch, closed off by a green curtain. It was a big, heavy curtain of worked stuff like brocade, and it looked very sumptuous. Curious to see what might be hidden behind, I pushed it aside. I saw before me in the dim light a rectangular chamber about thirty feet long. The ceiling was arched and of hewn stone. The floor was laid with flagstones, and in the center a red carpet ran from the entrance to a low platform. On this platform stood a wonderfully rich golden throne. I am not certain, but perhaps a red cushion lay on the seat. It was a magnificent throne, a real king's throne in a fairy tale. Something was standing on it which I thought at first was a tree trunk twelve to fifteen feet high and about one and a half to two feet thick. It was a huge composition: it was made of skin and naked flesh, and on top there was something like a rounded head with no face and no hair. On the very top of the head was a single eye, gazing upward.

It was fairly light in the room, although there were no windows and no apparent source of light. Above the head, however, was an aura of brightness. The thing did not move, yet I had the feeling that it might at any moment crawl off the throne like a worm and creep toward me. I was paralyzed with terror. At that moment I heard from outside and above me my mother's voice. She called out, "yes, just look at him.



That is the man-eater!" That intensified my terror still more, and I awoke sweating and scared to death."

In his memoirs Jung gives his own analysis:

"This dream haunted me for years. Only much later did I realize that what I had seen was a phallus, and it was decades before I understood that it was a ritual phallus. I could never make out whether my mother meant, "THAT is the man-eater," or, "that is the MAN-EATER." In the first case she would have meant that not Lord Jesus or the Jesuit was the devourer of little children, but the phallus; in the second case that the "man eater" in general was symbolized by the phallus, so that the dark Lord Jesus, the Jesuit, and the phallus were identical.

The abstract significance of the phallus is shown by the fact that it was enthroned by itself, "ithyphallically (from the Greek "upright"). The hole in the meadow probably represented a grave. The grave itself was an underground temple whose green curtain symbolized the meadow, in other words the mystery of Earth with her covering of green vegetation. The carpet was blood-red. What about the vault? Perhaps I had already been to the Munot, the citadel of Schaffhausen? This is not likely, since no one would take a three-year-old child up there. So it cannot be a memory-trace. Equally, I do not know where the anatomically correct phallus can have come from. The interpretation of the orificium urethrae as an eye, with the source of light apparently above it points to the etymology of the word phallus (from the Greek, shining, bright).



At all events, the phallus of this dream seems to be a subterranean God "not to be named," and such it remained throughout my youth, reappearing whenever anyone spoke too emphatically about Lord Jesus. Lord Jesus never became quite real for me, never quite acceptable, never quite lovable, for again and again I would think of his underground counterpart, a frightful revelation which had been accorded me without my seeking it."

"So the important thing in the dream was its remarkable symbolic setting and the astounding interpretation, "That is a man-eater." Not the child's ogre of a man-eater, but the fact that this was the man-eater, and that it was sitting on a golden throne beneath the earth. For my childish imagination it was first of all the king who sat on a golden throne; then, on a much more beautiful and much higher and much more golden throne far, far away in the blue sky, sat God and Lord Jesus with golden crown and white robes...In the dream I went down into the hole in the earth and found something very different on a golden throne, something non-human and underworldly, which gazed fixedly upward and fed on human flesh. It was only fifty years later that a passage in a study of religious ritual burned into my eyes, concerning the motif of cannibalism that underlies the symbolism of the Mass. Only then did it become clear to me how exceedingly unchildlike, how sophisticated and oversophisticated was the thought that had begun to break through into consciousness in those two experiences...



Who spoke to me then? Who talked of problems far beyond my knowledge? Who brought the Above and Below together, and laid the foundation for everything that was to fill the second half of my life with stormiest passion? Who but that alien guest who came both from above and below?

Through this childhood dream I was initiated into the secrets of the earth, What happened then was a kind of burial in the earth, and many years were to pass before I came out again. Today I know that it happened in order to bring the greatest possible amount of light into the darkness. It was an initiation into the realm of darkness. My intellectual life had its unconscious beginnings at that time."<sup>12</sup>

There are a number of reasons to devote a goodly amount of space to this dream. For one thing, Jung placed primary importance on it as the above passage shows. According to Barbara Hannah, Jung believed that the earliest remembered dream often contains "the pattern of the future fate and personality. Indeed, Jung's life was impregnated throughout by the creative principle, which is represented here as a concealed principle of nature striving toward the light of consciousness. His fear that it would crawl after him anticipate what he afterwards called the daimon of his creativity which haunted him all his life."<sup>13</sup>

Jung's and Hannah's analyses give complimentary notions of what such a dream means within an analytical psychology framework. The dream can also be understood within a psychoanalytic-developmental framework. It has Oedipal-





genital phase symbology, God is identified as "the man-eater" dangerous and threatening, symbolized by a giant phallus, perhaps connected with a father image (Brome suggests that Jung may have caught sight of his father's adult-size penis, perhaps even caught sight of his parents in the act of sexual intercourse, represented here as a phallus upright within a tomb). Not only is the threatening father image common to dreams of this period, with its increase in initiative and identification with the parents, but it is somewhat reinforced by the complicated dynamics between Jung's parents. Brome suggests, "...the phallic symbol can easily be read as the threatening father in the context of the quarrels with his wife, and the mother's exclamation 'that is the man-eater'-- a good description of what she had come to regard as her dangerous and destructive husband. Brilliantly combining so many elements in Jung's four year old world, it spelt out the struggle between father and mother, his own growing awareness of sexuality, the threats of the father's interjected image and the many anxieties besetting him."<sup>14</sup>

There is no need to choose between the types of explanation, they both have their uses. I would emphasize that it was logical in a developmental sense that Jung had this particular bizarre dream at this time. It makes sense in terms of the family situation. It also makes sense in terms of that can be called Jung's particular talent for experiencing a rather individual style of dream. Ignoring the specific symbols involved (should the reader wish not to ignore the symbols he/she is referred to Von Franz' book for



more "Jungian" analysis of the symbols)<sup>15</sup> there is a very individual quality or tone to the dream. It is very clear and specific in its imagery. There are fine details everywhere. Its forms are quite out of the ordinary. There is a mystical light suffusing the scene. There is an awesome quality to his mother's voice and words within the dream. In short, the dream has a visionary, mystical or even numinous quality. These characteristics are rare among dreams in general, and commonplace among Carl Jung's dreams. Freud, years later, was to come 'acropper' in trying to interpret Jung's dreams because of these mystifying qualities. Whatever one makes of Jung, his ideas, or his achievements one must come to terms with this aspect. This is the quintessential Jung, recognizable throughout his life even with all the variations and developements that time was to bring.

More immediately this dream marks the start of a secret or "underground" side to young Carl's life. Paul Stern described it well, "But one thing Carl grasped even then: he could not tell his parents about his dream. The father with his brittle good will and his shallow truisms, was poorly equipped to deal with dark enigmas. As for the mother, she was suspect of being in league with the man-eater. The boy felt that he had no choice but to keep his nightmare, later transformed into a revelation, to himself, thus deepening his isolation from his parents. And except for his parents there was no one in his world. From then on, secrecy, in the form of concealment and mystery, but also of stealth and subterfuge, was to rule his life."<sup>16</sup>



## Latency--The School Years

Paul Jung moved the family to Klein-Hunigen in 1879, when Jung was four. He had accepted a post as vicar of the village and as Protestant chaplain at the Friedmatt Mental Hospital. After the move Jung's life diverged. The family situation continued on its troubled course for a number of years as did Carl's reaction to it. However, within a year or so Carl had aged to the point where school and a life outside the home took on importance.

For a little while the tensions in the home were of greater importance. From Memories, Dreams, Reflections: "The nocturnal atmosphere began to thicken. All sorts of things were happening at night, things incomprehensible and alarming. My parents were sleeping apart. I slept in my father's room. From the door to my mother's room came frightening influences. At night Mother was strange and mysterious. One night I saw coming from her door a faintly luminous, indefinite figure whose head detached itself from the neck and floated along in front of it, in the air, like a little moon. Immediately another head was produced and again detached itself. This process was repeated six or seven times. I had anxiety dreams of things that were now small, no large. For instance, I saw a tiny ball at a great distance; gradually it approached, growing steadily into a monstrous and suffocating object. Or I saw telegraph wires with birds sitting on them, and the wires grew thicker and thicker and my fear greater until terror awoke me..."<sup>1</sup>



(In his seventh year), "At that time I was sick with pseudo-croup, accompanied by choking fits. One night during an attack I stood at the foot of the bed, my head bent back over the bed rail, while my father held me under the arms. Above me I saw a glowing blue circle about the size of the full moon, and inside it moved golden figures which I thought were angels. This was repeated, and each time it allayed my fear of suffocation. But the suffocation returned in the anxiety dreams. I see in this a psychogenic factor: the atmosphere of the house was beginning to be unbreathable."<sup>2</sup>

So much for more of the same. What was different was Carl's social life. In Laufen he was socially isolated, an only child with few opportunities to play and deal with other children. In adult life Jung thought of himself as constitutionally an introvert (in fact, he developed the psychological typology that made the introvert-extrovert polarity famous). It is not clear whether his constitutional propensities weren't magnified by his early life. He learned to cope with the situation well, perhaps too well. His lifelong friend, Albert Oeri, left a record of the young Jung: "I first set eyes on Jung during the time his father was pastor at Dachsen am Rheinfall and we were quite small. - (The fathers had been old school fellows and encouraged the two to play.) "Nothing could be done about Carl who sat in the middle of the room and occupied himself with a little bowling game and wouldn't pay the slightest attention to anyone else." When asked why he remembered the first meeting so well he said, "Probably because I had never come across such an asocial monster before. I was born into a well populated nursery where we played





together or fought but in any case always had contact with people, he into an empty one, his sister had not yet been born."<sup>3</sup>

Erikson calls this period the age of industry vs. inferiority; Freud, the latency period. From Erikson: "Thus the stage seems all set for "entrance into life" except that life must first be school life, whether school is field or jungle or classroom. The child must forget past hopes and wishes, while his exuberant imagination is tamed and harnessed to the laws of impersonal things--even the three R's. For before the child, psychologically already a rudimentary parent, can become a biological parent, he must begin to be a worker and protential provider. With the oncoming latency period, the normally advanced child forgets, or rather sublimates, the necessity to "make" people by direct attack or to become papa and mama in a hurry: he now learns to win recognition by producing things. He has mastered the ambulatory field and the organ modes. He has experienced a sense of finality regarding the fact that there is no workable future within the womb of his family, and thus becomes ready to apply himself to given skills and tasks, which go far beyond the mere playful expression of his organ modes or the pleasure in the function of his limbs. He develops a sense of industry, i.e., he adjusts himself to the inorganic laws of the tool world. He can become an eager and absorbed unit of a productive situation. To bring a productive situation to completion is an aim which gradually supersedes the whims and wishes of play...



This stage differs from the earlier ones in that it is not a swing from an inner upheaval to a new mastery. Freud calls it the latency stage because violent storms are usually dormant. But it is only a lull before the storm of puberty, when all the earlier drives reemerge in a new combination, to be brought under the dominance of genitality

On the other hand, this is socially a most decisive stage; since industry involves doing other things beside and with others, a first sense of division of labor and of differential opportunity, that is, a sense of the technological ethos of a culture, develops at this time."<sup>4</sup>

While this is a useful profile, we find that the young Jung was a bit skewed from the norm because of his isolated upbringing. His intellectual endowment, his father's university training, and the generally low intellectual level of the "peasant folk" of the village made the academic challenges of school (Erikson's technological tasks) relatively simple. It was the social environment and challenges that assumed a larger role in Carl's life. To some extent the socialization tasks of the previous era were delayed to this period, though of course they took on a different tone. In particular the "taming and harnessing" of which Erikson spoke was more in evidence in the social sphere than in the academic which Carl took to with great ease. The Jung known by his playmates was very much an assumed role, one pasted over a previous identity, much as one's work role is usually an assumed identity. The other Jung continued along in a subterranean vein. Which is not to say that in some ways he didn't welcome the company.



"Soon after I was six my father began giving me Latin lessons, and I also went to school. I did not mind school; it was easy for me, since I was always ahead of the others and had learned to read before I went there..

This unchildlike behavior was connected on the one hand with an intense sensitivity and vulnerability, on the other hand--and this especially--with the loneliness of my early youth. (My sister was born nine years after me.) I played alone, and in my own way. Unfortunately I cannot remember what I played; I recall only that I did not want to be disturbed. I was deeply absorbed in my games and could not endure being watched or judged while I played them. My first concrete memory of games dates from my seventh or eighth year. I was passionately fond of playing with bricks, and built towers which I then rapturously destroyed by an "earthquake". Between my eighth and eleventh years I drew endlessly--battle pictures, sieges, bombardments, naval engagements. Then I filled a whole exercise book with ink blots and amused myself giving them fantastic interpretations. One of my reasons for liking school was that there I found at last the playmates I had lacked for so long. At school, I also discovered something else..in the course of associating with my rustic schoolmates, I found that they alienated me from myself. When I was with them I became different from the way I was at home. I joined in their pranks, or invented ones which at home would never have occurred to me, so it seemed; although, as I knew only too well, I could hatch up all sorts of things when I was alone. It seemed to me that



the change in myself was due to the influence of my school-fellows, who somehow misled me or compelled me to be different from what I thought I was. The influence of this wider world, this world which contained others besides my parents, seemed to me dubious if not altogether suspect and, in some obscure way, hostile...My nightly prayer did, of course, grant me a ritual protection since it concluded the day properly and just as properly ushered in night and sleep. But the new peril lurked by day. It was as if I sensed a splitting of myself, and feared it. My inner security was threatened."<sup>5</sup>

A number of other rituals kept the fears at bay and sustained him. One was a fire, an "Eternal Light" that Jung kept and tended, occasionally with the help of friends, in a cave. Another was a large stone near the cave, a sitting stone, as it were. He played a mystical-philosophical game with the stone, "Am I the one who is sitting on the stone, or am I the stone on which he is sitting? This question always perplexed me, and I would stand up, wondering who was what now. The answer remained totally unclear, my uncertainty was accompanied by a feeling of curious and fascinating darkness. But there was no doubt that this stone stood in some secret relationship to me. I could sit on it for hours, fascinated by the puzzle it set for me."<sup>6</sup>

On the family front, relations between Paul and Emilie Jung had improved to the point in 1894 where, when Carl was nine, Paul came to his son with the following news. "Tonight you've been given a little sister." Carl's reaction was, "I was utterly surprized, for I hadn't noticed anything (presumably Emilie had grown quite stout by this stage in life)..





My father brought me to my mother's bedside, and she held out a little creature that looked dreadfully disappointing: a red shrunken face like an old man's, the eyes closed, and probably as blind as a young puppy, I thought. On its back the thing had a few single long red hairs which were shown to me--had it been intended for a monkey? I was shocked and did not know what to feel." Jung went through the various explanations for babies in his mind (he had been fed the line about the stork). He had long since thought through the implications of this theory, decided that the stork would not survive a calf delivery and hence: "this story was obviously another of those humbugs which were always being imposed on me. I felt sure that my mother had once again done something I was supposed not to know about.

This sudden appearance of my sister left me with a vague sense of distrust which sharpened my curiosity and observation (presumably Carl had become a somewhat 'out of it' child with the various tensions). Subsequent odd reactions on the part of my mother confirmed my suspicions that something regrettable was connected with this birth. Otherwise this event did not bother me very much."<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand it doesn't appear to have helped matters much. He was already too much of his own person, on his own path, for a minor improvement in parental relations to help him. Besides, there were enough negative aspects to the experience to push him further onto his own resources. His secret rituals culminated in a last "game" in his tenth year.



"My disunion with myself and uncertainty in the world at large led me to an action which at the time was quite incomprehensible to me. I had in those days a yellow, varnished pencil case of the kind commonly used by primary-school pupils, with a little lock and the customary ruler. At the end of this ruler I now carved a little manikin, about two inches long, with frock coat, top hat, and shiny black boots. I colored him black with ink, sawed him off the ruler, and put him in the pencil case, where I made him a little bed. I even made a coat for him out of a bit of wool. In the case I also placed a smooth, oblong blackish stone from the Rhine, which I had painted with water colors to look as though it were divided into an upper and lower half, and had long carried around in my trouser pocket. This was his stone. All this was a great secret. Secretly I took the case to the forbidden attic at the top of the house (forbidden because the floorboards were worm eaten and rotten) and hid it with great satisfaction on one of the beams under the roof--for no one must ever see it! I knew that not a soul would ever find it there. No one could discover my secret and destroy it. I felt safe, and the tormenting sense of being at odds with myself was gone. In all difficult situations, whenever I had done something wrong, or my feelings had been hurt, or when my father's irritability or my mother's invalidism oppressed me, I thought of my carefully bedded down and wrapped up manikin and his smooth, prettily colored stone." Jung even wrote letters to this manikin (though at age 83 he couldn't remember what the



letters said.)

The meaning of these actions, or how I might explain them, never worried me. I contented myself with the feeling of newly won security, and was satisfied to possess something that no one knew and no one could get at. It was an inviolable secret which must never be betrayed, for the safety of my life depended on it. Why that was so I did not ask myself. It simply was so.

This possession of a secret had a very powerful formative influence on my character; I consider it the essential factor of my boyhood. Similarly, I never told anyone about the dream of the phallus; and the Jesuit too, belonged to that mysterious realm which I knew I must not talk about. The little wooden figure with the stone was a first attempt, still unconscious and childish, to give shape to the secret." Jung then goes on to say that this propelled him on to a search for answers to the secrets of this realm, his interest in plants and nature profiting thereby. It gave him a skepticism about Christianity--what was underneath it?

The episode with the carved manikin formed the climax and the conclusion of my childhood. It lasted about a year. Thereafter I completely forgot the whole affair until I was thirty-five."<sup>8</sup> In later life Jung found symbolic analogues of his manikins in his study of various arcane religious practices. He found soul stones, Australian churingas, oblong, blackish and painted into an upper and lower half. He found the Telesphoros a little cloaked God of Ancient Greece connected to the worship of Asklepios. In Africa he found even closer analogues, almost identical, to his own boyhood ritual.



Within a psychoanalytic framework the above behaviors would be classified as an obsessive-compulsive reaction. The formal definition is a disorder where "the anxiety aroused by the unconscious conflict is counteracted by the occurrence of thoughts (obsessions), acts or impulses to act (compulsions), or mixtures of both, which are all isolated from the original, unacceptable impulse." Furthermore, "According to psychoanalytic theory, obsessions are the consequence of the release of repressed instinctual impulses and wishes from their unconscious representation; the released elements are then transferred to the sphere of consciousness in conjunction with some idea or set of ideas that has no presumptive relation to the unconscious impulse, so that the child is unable to understand why he should be obsessed in this way. The reaction is interpreted as a defense against aggressive and sexual impulses, particularly in relation to the Oedipus complex" (E. James Anthony, Freedman and Kaplan). "Secrecy is said to be a frequent accompaniment of this as well as other childhood neuroses, presumably for the same reason that the child is driven to exhibit the phenomena in the first place, direct expression of the impulse or the anxiety is blocked."

There are certain circumstantial supports for this approach here. Firstly there was the tense and troubled relationship between the parents. Then there was the social strain of an introverted child suddenly introduced to a rough and rustic society of peers. Finally there was the unexpected arrival of a baby sister with an accompanying tale full of mullarkey about a stork. All of this was occurring within the





very strict society of nineteenth century Calvinist Switzerland, so that Carl's means of outlet were limited.

Having tipped a hat in that direction, I must say that I do not believe that to be the essential explanation, nor do I believe that there is sufficient evidence even within a psychoanalytic framework for a diagnosis of a full blown obsessive-compulsive neurosis. Again from E. James Anthony: "These disorders must be distinguished from normal, compulsive rituals of the toddler around training situations and from the obsessional games of the early school-age child carried out in the service of mastering aggressive impulses." Jung's rituals occurred in a stressful period and were self-limited. Furthermore, while there may have been some sexual component, Jung's identity and divided sense of self seems to have been a much more urgent problem, one that was relieved (to some degree) by various games suggesting permanence, freedom from harm, and an untroubled identity (the manikin representing himself). There is an elegant unity of form and function in the games of the child Jung. True, they were a bit more extreme than most. True, their content had eery and uncanny resemblances to ancient rituals which had had similar purposes. But this appears to have been a "talent" of Jung's. The key point is that he coped and that these rituals subsided on their own.

Before going on the next period, it should be mentioned that sometime during Jung's childhood he was sexually molested by an adult male whom he trusted. The incident is given passing mention in the Fred-Jung correspondence, but is not



mentioned in his Memories. There is no indication when this took place or who the man was. From his sympathetic accounts of his father one can conclude that, in all probability, it wasn't his father. Since we do not know the who, or the when, it is impossible to relate it to any specific periods or behaviors on Jung's part. But it should be kept in mind for speculation.



## Gymnasium

At age eleven Jung left the village school behind and began his time at the gymnasium in Basel. The differences in worlds were vast and the transition was extremely painful. "Thus I was taken away from my rustic playmates, and truly entered the "great world", where powerful personages, far more powerful than my father, lived in big, splendid houses, drove about in expensive carriages drawn by magnificent horses and taled a refined German and French. Their sons, well dressed, equipped with fine manners and plenty of pocket money, were now my classmates. They had been among those glowing snowy peaks near Zurich, had even been to the sea-- this last absolutely flabbergasted me...Then for the first time, I became aware how poor we were, that my father was a poor country parson and I, a still poorer parson's son who had holes in his shoes and had to sit for six hours in school with wet socks. I began to see my parents with different eyes, and to understand their cares and worries..."<sup>1</sup>

To make matters worse his mother added fuel to the fire by adminishing him, even in public, to mind his manners, to make sure he'd wash his hands, to use a handkerchief, etc., emphasizing his comparatively low social station.

Nor could he count on intellectual achievements to bolster his self-esteem. He encountered mathematics in earnest for this first time and matematics definitely came off the winner. He was bright and had a flair for symbols and abstractions, but not numbers and not algebra. He was able to get by, particularly relying on his near-photographic



memory, but he was quite intimidated by the subject, and couldn't even dare to ask questions. The divinity classes were boring. He hated gymnastics. Despite some talent for drawing, he did not take to the regimentation, the copying of prints of Greek gods, and that too became a failure.

Needless to say, his social life was also difficult. Children at that age are not terribly forgiving of social differences. Developmentally it is a time of increased aggression, increased cliquishness, and an overly strong closure around sexual identity, in preparation, as it were, for adolescence and puberty.<sup>2</sup> As an outsider this left Jung in a precarious situation. His size and strength gave him some protection, but he did not have many friends.

As things muddled along, with no relief in sight, an incident occurred that was a manifestation of the above, but paradoxically brought relief:

"My twelfth year was indeed a fateful one for me. One day in the early summer of 1887 I was standing in the cathedral square, waiting for a classmate who went home by the same route as myself. It was twelve o'clock and the morning classes were over. Suddenly another boy gave me a shove that knocked me off my feet. I fell, striking my head against the curbstone so hard that I almost lost consciousness. For about half an hour afterward I was a little dazed. At the moment I felt the blow the thought flashed through my mind, 'Now you won't have to go to school anymore'. I was only half unconscious, but I remained lying there a few moments longer than was strictly necessary, chiefly in order to





avenge myself on my assailant. Then people picked me up and took me to a house nearby, where two elderly spinster aunts lived.

From then on I began to have fainting spells whenever I had to return to school, and whenever my parents set me to doing my homework. For more than six months I stayed away from school, and for me that was a picnic. I was free, could dream for hours, be anywhere I liked, in the woods or by the water, or draw...But I was growing more and more away from the world, and had all the while faint pangs of conscience. I frittered away my time with loafing, collecting, reading, and playing, but I did not feel any happier for it; I had the obscure feeling that I was fleeing from myself."

His parents were quite frightened and sent Carl to a number of physicians, none of whom agreed on what was wrong with the boy.

"Then one day a friend called on my father. They were sitting in the garden and I hid behind a shrub, for I was possessed of an insatiable curiosity. I heard the visitor saying to my father, "And how is your son?" "Ah, that is a sad business," my father replied. "The doctors no longer know what is wrong with him. They think it may be epilepsy. It would be dreadful if he were incurable. I have lost what little I had, and what will become of the boy if e cannot earn his own living?"

"I was thunderstruck. This was the collision with reality. Why then, I must get to work! I thought suddenly.

"From that moment on I became a serious child. I crept



away, went to my father's study, took out my Latin grammar, and began to cram with intense concentration. After ten minutes of this I had the finest of fainting fits. I almost fell off the chair, but after a few minutes I felt better and went on working. This was repeated several times. Suddenly I felt better than I had in all the months before. And in fact the attacks did not recur."<sup>3</sup>

Jung returned to school shortly thereafter, though because of the time lost he rejoined a younger class. This had its advantages, for it gave him a fresh start with a new group of peers. His school work improved, for that overwhelming sense of defeat was gone.

It should not be assumed that Carl had been simply malingering. He only became aware of his malady's psychological basis after he returned to school. Even that thought that ran through his head when he struck his head had been forgotten, only to return in his introspection after returning to school. As he said, "That was when I learned what a neurosis is." This became a time of resolution, of utilizing the respite and forging a new structure to deal with a somewhat hostile world. "I had a feeling of rage against myself, and at the same time was ashamed of myself. For I knew that I had wronged myself and made a fool of myself in my own eyes. Nobody else was to blame; I was the cursed renegade! From then on I could no longer endure my parents' worrying about me or speaking of me in a pitying tone.

"The neurosis became another of my secrets, but it was a shameful secret, a defeat. Nevertheless it induced in me a



studied punctiliousness and an unusual diligence. Those days saw the beginnings of my conscientiousness, practiced not for the sake of appearances, so that I would amount to something, but for my own sake. Regularly I would get up at five o'clock in order to study, and sometimes I worked from three in the morning till seven, before going to school."

In the terms of Robert Birsig this was a time of a renewal of "gumption", of energy, of wherewithal.<sup>4</sup> The new-found sense of purpose and direction was reflected in a psychic experience at this time:

"I was taking the long road to school from Klein-Huningen, where we lived, to Basel, when suddenly for a single moment I had the overwhelming impression of having just emerged from a dense cloud. I knew all at once; now I am myself! It was as if a wall of mist were at my back, and behind that wall there was not yet an "I". But at this moment I came upon myself. Previously I had existed, too, but everything had happened to me. Now I happened to myself...Previously I had been willed to do this and that; now I willed. This experience seemed to me tremendously important and new; there was "authority" in me."<sup>5</sup>

The feeling of authority, of self, was amplified by a subsequent experience. In an outing with a friend on Lake Lucerne, Jung was upbraided by the friend's father for being reckless in sailing the family boat. Jung found that he had a double reaction. He partly thought that the father was justified, despite the fact that he had considerable sailing experience. But, "at the same time I was seized with rage



that this fat, ignorant boor should dare to insult ME. This ME was not only grown up, but important, an authority, a person with office and dignity, an old man, an object of respect and awe. Yet the contrast with reality was so grotesque that in the midst of my fury I suddenly stopped myself, for the question rose to my lips, 'Who in the world are you, anyway? You are reacting as though you were the devil only knows how important! And yet you know he is perfectly right. You are barely twelve years old...

Then to my intense confusion, it occurred to me that I was actually two different persons. One of them was the schoolboy who could not grasp algebra and was far from sure of himself; the other was important, a high authority, a man not to be trifled with, as powerful and influential as this manufacturer. This "other" was an old man who lived in the eighteenth century, wore buckled shoes and a white wig and went driving in a fly with high, concave rear wheels between which the bow was suspended on springs and leather straps...

After my escapade with the boat, and my well-merited punishment, I began pondering these isolated impressions, and they coalesced into a coherent picture of myself living in two ages simultaneously, and being two different persons. I felt confused, and was full to the brim with heavy reflections. At last I reached the disappointing realization that now, at any rate, I was nothing but the little schoolboy who had deserved his punishment, and who had to behave according to his age. The other person must be sheer nonsense."<sup>6</sup>

Despite the "nonsense" the notion of the two personalities





stayed with Jung. The schoolboy became personality "Number One" and was associated with the "real" world, the world of logic and facts and science. The wise old man became personality "Number Two" associated with the realm of the mysterious. Yet this did not herald a breakdown but was actually a successful coping device. It allowed Jung's separate tendencies and talents a mode of organization. When certain events threatened to overwhelm Number One, Number Two would come to the fore and provide perspective. They were not completely separate personalities like in the classic cases of multiple personality or even like Emilie Jung's two "voices"; there was no separation of knowledge or memory. The most useful criterion to use here is functionality, and Jung remained a functioning and growing person. Yet this aspect should be kept in mind by the reader, particularly in trying to understand the phenomena that occurred during Jung's midlife crisis.

The last of the "great secrets" of Carl Jung's childhood occurred in this period.

"One fine summer day that same year I came out of school at noon and went to the cathedral square. The sky was gloriously blue, the day one of radiant sunshine. The roof of the cathedral glittered, the sun sparkling from the new, brightly glazed tiles. I was overwhelmed by the beauty of the sight, and thought: The world is beautiful and the church is beautiful, and God made all this and sits above it far away in the blue sky on a golden throne and...Here came a great hole in my thoughts, and a choking sensation. I felt



numbed, and knew only: "Don't go in thinking now! Something terrible is coming, something I do not want to think something I dare not even approach." He had the feeling that something sinful, something desecratory was pushing into his thoughts. Over the next three days he avoided the thought and its completion, though with great difficulty. He wrestled with himself, wondering why he was afflicted with this torment. "Oddly enough, I did not think for a moment that the devil might be playing a trick on me. The devil played little part in my mental world at that time. And in any case I regarded him as powerless compared with God. But from the moment I emerged from the mist and became conscious of myself, the unity, the greatness, and the superhuman majesty of God began to haunt my imagination. Hence there was no question in my mind but that God Himself was arranging a decisive test for me, and that everything depended on my understanding him correctly...

God knows that I cannot resist much longer, and He does not help me, although I am on the point of having to commit the unforgiveable sin (to think through the sacriligious thought). In His omnipotence He could easily lift this compulsion from me, but evidently He is not going to... Obviously God also desires me to show courage," I thought. "If that is so and I go through with it, then He will give me His grace and illumination."

"I gathered all my courage, as though I were about to leap forthwith into hell-fire, and let the thought come. I



saw before me the cathedral, the blue sky. God sits on His Golden throne, high above the world--and from under the throne an enormous turd falls upon the sparkling new roof, shatters it, and breaks the walls of the cathedral asunder."

"So that was it! I felt an enormous, an indescribable relief. Instead of the expected damnation, grace had come upon me, and with it an unutterable bliss such as I had never known." Jung believed that he had "experienced God" at "first hand". Furthermore, he felt that God's desecration of his own cathedral was significant, that the way to God was not necessarily through traditional routes. Carl felt that he now understood his father's dilemma. "That was what my father had not understood, I thought; he had failed to experience the will of God, had opposed it for the best reasons and out of the deepest faith...He had taken the Bible's commandments as his guide...But he did not know the immediate living God who stands, omnipotent and free, above his Bible and his Church, who calls upon man to partake of his Freedom, and can force him to renounce his own views and convictions in order to fulfill without reserve the command of God."<sup>7</sup>

The revelation did not, however, simply produce a swelled head. He saw the experience as a revelation but of the dark side of God, of the powers of the universe. He came to wonder why he should see the dark side of God. Moreover, he felt inadequate to have experienced any revelation. He did not see himself as his parents did ("You have always been a good boy") but as deeply flawed. He kept the experience



secret mostly because there was no one who would receive it well, partly because he felt that it was his responsibility to wrestle with it.

These events initiated a period of search. What did his experiences mean, did other people have them, were there precedents for them? The first area of focus became, reasonably enough, religion. It became apparent to Carl that conventional religion, at least as it was found in his father's world, did not have the answers. In fact it did not even have the "vital contact" with the "world of the eternal" that he had experienced. This disillusionment, in its own way echoing the sentiments of his dream, grew, coming to a climax at his Communion ceremony at age 15. Paul Jung had placed much importance on this ritual, this rite of passage. Carl was dubious about the procedure. "This seemed to me so preposterous an impossibility (the incorporation of Christ's body and blood into the celebrants during Communion) that I was sure some great mystery must lie behind it, and that I would participate in this mystery in the course of Communion, on which my father seemed to place so high a value. The ceremony came, the ceremony went. Only gradually, in the course of the following days, did it dawn on me that nothing had happened. I had reached the pinnacle of religious initiation, had expected something--I knew not what--to happen, and nothing at all had happened."<sup>8</sup> The experience and all of his father's structure of religion were seen as hollow, devoid of God.

This began a period of intellectual search, of personal





theorizing over the nature of God, of combing through libraries for confirmation and guidance. It was a time of massive intellectual and academic growth. However this new life of the mind was kept somewhat separate from his life in the gymnasium. There Jung had learned to adjust his performance so that he was at the top of the class but not quite the lead student. He found the competition and the tension in the number one slot to be unpleasant. This tact ameliorated his social situation as well. There were a few incidents when Jung's enthusiasm got the best of him, and he produced work of such caliber that his teachers refused to believe it was his. Naturally this enraged him but then his Number Two personality came to the fore and brought a feeling of perspective and calm to the situation. So "Father Abraham", as he came to be called by his friends, negotiated a viable peace with his social world.

At this time there was a teeter-tottering between the pulls of Numbers One and Two. Jung's travels in his father's library took him through English classic novels, German literature, history and onward. His father's library was only meagerly supplied in philosophy. Around this time a gentle sway began towards matters of science and nature, the realm of Number One, This was amplified by the lack of answers, the blind alleys, that his Number Two interests encountered in his search.

Just at that time (Carl was about 16) his mother's number two personality put in a word to the wise, "You must read Goethe's Faust one of these days." And so, "Here at last,"



I thought, "is someone who takes the devil seriously and even concludes a blood pact with him--with the adversary who has the power to frustrate God's plan to make a perfect world." I had the impression that the weight of the drama and its significance lay chiefly on the side of Mephistopheles. It would not have grieved me if Faust's soul had gone to hell. He deserved it. I didn't like the idea of the 'cheated devil' at the end, for after all Mephistopheles had been anything but a stupid devil, and it was contrary to logic for him to be tricked by silly little angels...The real problem it seemed to me, lay with Mephistopheles, whose whole figure made the deepest impression on me, and who, I vaguely sensed had a relationship to the mystery of the Mothers. At any rate Mephistopheles and the great initiation at the end remained for me a wonderful and mysterious experience on the fringes of my conscious world.

At last I had found confirmation that there were or had been people who saw evil and its universal power, and more important the mysterious role it played in delivering man from darkness and suffering. To that extent Goethe became, in my eyes a prophet..."<sup>10</sup>

Goethe and Faust had a powerful and salubrious effect on Jung. They represented figures that knew of the existence of "mysteries" and sought them out. They knew of the dark as well as the light, the chaotic, as well as the ordered. They also brought together disparate skills and concerns. Faust, and behind him Goethe, explored not only philosophy but natural science and that bridgelike subject, alchemy.



In short, they gave to Jung a model of uniting the opposed spheres of his two aspects.

In assessing the importance of this symbol or myth, as the later Jung would have termed it, one should look for two sets of effects, long range and immediate. For the long range one must look at the direction that Jung's career took over many decades, ultimately crossing between science and religion, psychiatry and (interesting enough) alchemy itself. For the short range one, sees an accelerated progress into more conventional and worldly subjects and the (temporary) setting aside of the realm of Number Two. First came philosophy:

"In reading the drama I had discovered that Faust had been a philosopher of sorts, and although he turned away from philosophy, he had obviously learned from it a certain receptivity to the truth. Hitherto I had heard virtually nothing of philosophy, and now a new hope dawned. Perhaps, I thought, there were philosophers who had grappled with these questions and could shed light on them for me."

Jung started with Krug's General Dictionary of Philosophical Sciences, as its title suggests, a survey book. He then moved through the Greeks: Plato, Pythagorus, Empdocles, and Heraclitus. "Their ideas were beautiful and academic, like pictures in a gallery, but somewhat remote. Only Meister Eckhart did I feel the breath of life--not that I understood him. The Schoolmen left me cold, and the Aristotelian intellectualism of St. Thomas appeared to me more lifeless than a desert", I thought, "they all want to



force something to come out by tricks of logic, something they have not been granted and do not really know about. They want to prove a belief to themselves, whereas actually it is a matter of experience...Of the nineteenth century philosophers, Hegel put me off by his language, as arrogant as it was laborious...

But the great find resulting from my researches was Schopenhauer. He was the first to speak of suffering of the world, which visible and glaringly surrounds us, and of confusion, passion, evil--all those things which the others hardly seemed to notice and always tried to resolve into all-embracing harmony and comprehensibility. Here at last was a philosopher who had the courage to see that all was not for the best in the fundamentals of the universe. He spoke...of the blindness of the world creating Will.

Schopenhauer's somber picture of the world had my undivided approval, but not his solution of the problem...I was all the more disappointed by his theory that the intellect need only confront the blind Will with its image in order to cause it to reverse itself. How could the Will see this image at all, since it was blind? And why should it, even if it could see, thereby be persuaded to reverse itself, since the image would show it precisely what it willed?" Dissatisfaction with Schopenhauer led to Kant and his theory of knowledge, which Jung turned back to Schopenhauer finding that the philosopher had erred in "hypostatizing a metaphysical assertion". The young Jung was reveling in flexing his intellectual muscles. The urge to deal with the matters of the world, the world of Number One, the world of daylight,





took the upper hand. He was introduced to a chemist and off he went in that direction. Zoology was another passion, as was archaeology. As his father said, "The boy is interested in everything imaginable, but he does not know what he wants."<sup>11</sup>

We have come to a dividing point. The time which we are now considering has characteristics of both childhood (in its adolescent phase) and that period of the separation, the Early Adulthood Transition. So it is meet that we look back now over the preceding time and make some attempt at discerning trends and processes.

In Erikson's schema this is the time of Identity vs. Role Confusion:

"With the establishment of a good initial relationship to the world of skills and tools, and with the advent of puberty, childhood proper comes to an end. Youth begins. But in puberty and adolescence all samenesses and continuities relied on earlier are more or less questioned again, because of a rapidity of body growth which equals that of early childhood and because of the new addition of genital maturity..

The integration now taking place in the form of ego identity is, as pointed out, more than the sum of the childhood identifications. It is the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities offered in social roles...

The danger of this stage is role confusion. Where this is based on a strong previous doubt as to one's sexual



identity, delinquent and outright psychotic episodes are not uncommon. If diagnosed and treated correctly, these incidents do not have the same fatal significance which they have at other ages...

The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child, and the ethics to be developed by the adult. It is an ideological mind--and, indeed it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by his peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds and programs which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical."<sup>12</sup>

Identity was indeed the key issue of Carl Jung's life in adolescence. During this time he was under major social pressure and trauma, he responded to this with psychosomatic symptoms of considerable proportions. He experienced conflict over religious issues, the "ideology" of his father. He tried to deal with "what is evil, uncanny, and inimical". Yet in many ways he turned the standard notions on their head. In trying to come to grips with ideology his own unconscious pushed him in very different directions. His sense of identity was split in two, but instead of heralding a psychic or psychotic disintegration, a period of more successful coping, of social and intellectual growth resulted. This is the central fact of the period; Jung had experiences that one would be tempted to call psychotic, yet he remained sane, sane by an operational definition. Throughout the examination



of Jung's life, one must apply a functionalistic perspective-- how did he act, did he cope, etc. The prima facie evidence leads one to expect imminent breakdown; it did not occur.

I see the adolescent period as an answer to the conflicts of the earlier period. In this time Jung "bowed out" for half a year and then recouped his losses. Then followed a period of increased coping yet also unconscious processing as evinced by his visions and his two modes of functioning. In the latter part of adolescence this "processing" diminished and Jung presented an increasingly conventional (only in comparison to his own non-conventional capabilities) foot forward.



### Section III

Jung's Adult Years (17-22 approx)

(Early Adult Era, Mid-Life Transition, Inclusive)





## The Early Adult Transition (16/17-22)

Jung, himself, sets of the years 16-19 as years when "the fog of my dilemma slowly lifeted, and my depressive states of mind improved. Number One personality emerged more and more distinctly."<sup>1</sup> Also sometime during this period the parental pressure for choosing a profession increased dramatically. There is no indication of more exact dating on this question. It is my opinion that the "lifting of the dilemma" and the emergence of Number One are expressions of integrative trends starting earlier in adolescence and peaking at this time. The start of the Early Adult Transition is functionally marked off by the preoccupation with breaking away from the childhood home and the parental family structure. It is possible that the culmination of the former and the latter are chronologically and perhaps even causally related. One cannot ascertain this, so the distinction is maintained on an operational basis.

The decision was quite difficult, for as was mentioned previously, "the boy was interested in everything" (except mathematics). The occupations available did not really suit the Number Two interests. In fact, it was not clear that Number Two could be accommodated by any profession: "I was beginning to realize that No. 2 had no pied-a-teere. In him I was lifted beyond the here and now; in him I felt myself a single eye in a thousand-eyed universe, but incapable of moving so much as a pebble upon the earth. No. 1 rebelled against this passivity; he wanted to be up and doing, but for the present he was caught in an insoluble conflict.



Obviously I had to wait and see what would happen. If anyone asked me what I wanted to be I was in the habit of replying: a philologist (the original interest and field of his father), by which I secretly meant Assyrian and Egyptian archaeology. In reality, however, I continued to study science and philosophy in my leisure hours,..."<sup>2</sup>

Jung's oscillation continued back and forth. This was a time of an increased irritability on Paul Jung's part and a greater temptation on Carl's part to argue with him, particularly on religious matters. Yet the father was tolerant of Carl's indecision, only advising, as you will remember, "Be anything you like except a theologian".<sup>3</sup> Carl, by this time, found that advice superfluous.

Economic limitation came to play a role in the career choice. The Jungs' had meager economic resources, Carl was limited to the University of Basel for his advanced work. Basel had no program in archaeology, and philosophy and history were not practical economic options. In a characteristic fashion, Carl found his dilemma addressed in two dreams late in 1894. The first:

"I was in a dark wood that stretched along the Rhine. I came to a little hill, a burial mound, and began to dig. After a while I turned up, to my astonishment, some bones of prehistoric animals. This interested me enormously, and at that moment I knew: I must get to know nature, the world in which we live and the things around us."

The second:

"Again I was in a wood; it was threaded with watercourses,



and in the darkest place. I saw a circular pool, surrounded by dense undergrowth. Half immersed in the water lay the strangest and most wonderful creature: a round animal, shimmering in opalescent hues, and consisting of innumerable little cells, or of organs shaped like tentacles. It was a giant radiolarian, measuring about three feet across. It seemed to me indescribably wonderful that this magnificent creature should be lying there undisturbed, in the hidden place, in the clear, deep water. It aroused in me an intense desire for knowledge, so that I awoke with a beating heart. These two dreams decided me overwhelmingly in favor of science, and removed all my doubts."<sup>4</sup>

The reader is again referred to Von Franz/ book (p. 31) for a more detailed Jungian analysis of the dream and a discussion of how it connects up with alchemical imagery and processes. Suffice it to say that the radiolarian is compared to the phallus and the manikin as another manifestation of the hidden power, the lumen naturae--the "Natural Light", a source of inspiration. For our purposes it is enough to appreciate that Jung used these dreams to narrow his choices.

At this point Jung tried to reason out where he could go within science. He came to realize that if he simply followed a field like zoology he would merely become a schoolteacher or as he put it "at best an employee in a zoological garden". "In this blind alley the inspiration suddenly came to me that I could study medicine. Strangely enough, this had never occurred to me before, although my paternal grandfather, of whom I had heard so much, had



been a doctor. Indeed, for that very reason I had a certain resistance to this profession. 'Only don't imitate', was my motto. But now I told myself that the study of medicine at least began with scientific subjects. To that extent I would be doing what I wanted. Moreover, the field of medicine was so broad that there was always the possibility of specializing later."<sup>5</sup>

Having so decided, there still remained certain economic obstacles. His father applied for a stipend from the university for Carl, and to his son's surprise the university granted it (Jung told Barbara Hannah that he had not thought that "top people" were "well disposed" to him).<sup>6</sup> The matriculation exams were passed and Jung was headed for the university in medicine.

There was one more life changing dream at this time. The choice to go to the university in medicine had been made. Yet there were unresolved doubts, what of the conflicting interests of the now dominant Number One and the still present Number Two? So, again Jung dreamed a dream: "which both frightened and encouraged me. It was night in some unknown place, and I was making slow and painful headway against a mighty wind. Dense fog was flying along everywhere. I had my hands cupped around a tiny light which threatened to go out at any moment. Everything depended on my keeping this little light alive. Suddenly I had the feeling that something was coming up behind me. I looked back, and saw a gigantic black figure following me. But at the same moment I was





conscious, in spite of my terror, that I must keep my little light going through night and wind, regardless of all dangers. When I awoke I realized that the figure was a 'specter of the Brocken', my own shadow on the swirling mists, brought into being by the little light I was carrying. I knew, too, that this little light was my consciousness, the only light I have...

This dream was a great illumination for me. Now I knew that #1 was the bearer of the light, and that #2 followed him like a shadow. My task was to shield the light and not look back at the *vita peracta* (associated with #2, born living, dead, everything in one; a total vision of life); this was evidently a forbidden realm of light of a different sort. I must go forward against the storm, which sought to thrust me back into the immeasurable darkness of a world where one is aware of nothing except the surfaces of things in the background. In the role of #1, I had to go forward--into study, moneymaking, responsibilities, entanglements, confusions, errors, submissions, defeats...

My view of the world spun around another ninety degrees; I recognized clearly that my path led irrevocably outward, into the limitations and darkness of three-dimensionality. It seemed to me that Adam must one have left Paradise in this manner; Eden had become a specter for him, and light was where a stony field had to be tilled in the sweat of his brow.

I had asked myself: Whence comes such a dream? Till then I had taken it for granted that such dreams were sent



directly by God. But now I had imbibed so much epistemology that doubts assailed me. One might say, for instance, that my insight had been slowly ripening for a long time and had then suddenly broken through in a dream...

I must leave #2 behind me, that was clear. But under no circumstances ought I to deny him to myself or declare him invalid. That would have been a self-mutilation, and would moreover have deprived me of any possibility of explaining the origin of my dreams. For there was no doubt in my mind that #2 had something to do with the creation of dreams. He was indeed a specter, a spirit who could hold his own against the world of darkness...

At any rate, a schism had taken place between me and #2 with the result that "I" was assigned to #1 and was separated from #2 in the same degree, who thereby acquired, as it were, an autonomous personality."<sup>7</sup>

How did all of this debating and dreaming affect the first formation of the Dream, a prime function of this era? There is some uncertainty as to Jung's feeling at the time and in his lifetime thereafter about this career choice. In his Memoirs he said, "When, therefore, I finally decided on medicine, it was with the rather disagreeable feeling that it was not a good thing to start life with such a compromise. Nevertheless, I felt considerably relieved now that this irrevocable decision had been made."<sup>8</sup> Jung had had the pipe dream of being supported in some scientific search by a patron. He was fully aware that this was an impossible



fantasy. During a 1959 BBC interview he was asked why he became a physician. "Opportunism."<sup>9</sup>

So we have the dissatisfaction on the one hand. On the other we can see that Jung was drawn to work in science. He had devised an initial Dream of exploring, of doing and accomplishment. It was a Dream of finding "meaning" but in the realm of a concrete, rational field. It had side aspects of a conventional family, and comfortable economic means. Medicine was a rather elegant solution for such a Dream in the hands of a relatively poor parson's son. In medicine Jung had a chance at combining his scientific interests with an opportunity for making money and rising up in the ranks of a hierarchy. It also had much maneuvering room, which suited Jung's unfocused interests.

But there is more to it than that. Medicine was the profession of his eminent grandfather, this grandfather that was (perhaps) the son of Jung's revered Goethe. As was mentioned earlier, Goethe and Goethe's Faust were powerful symbols for Carl, symbols of the integration of his diverse aspects. The dream of the walk on "the Brocken", his integrative dream, used the symbol of Goethe's play (the Brocken being Mephistopheles' mountain realm). So Jung's chosen career allowed him to do science and to connect with his personal symbols of his grandfather, Goethe, and Faust (and Number Two, hiding behind them). As one follows Jung's life course, one comes to appreciate the elegant way Jung's career choices allowed him to work out diverse aspects of his Dream.



It should not be assumed that it was planned deliberately so. Barbara Hannah and other members of Jung's circle hold that it was fate. Jung might have said later on that it was a confluence of conscious and unconscious factors (I refer to his view of the unconscious, not the more limited Freudian unconscious). The reader can draw his/her own conclusions.

April 18, 1895 saw Jung's entrance into the medical school. He was not as some people expected a silent shadow in the depths of the university library. Instead he had transformed into a powerful and dynamic figure. He immediately joined the Zofingia, the Swiss Student Society, became a leader and spectacular debator. He was by this time 6 feet 1, imposingly built, with a deep commanding orator's voice and an orator's skill of language. His friend Oeri "reported that when Jung spoke he could hold fifty or sixty students, from all the faculties of the university, spellbound with interest..."<sup>10</sup> Jung came to be known as "Walze", sometimes translated as the Barrel, sometimes as steamroller. The name refers to both his dynamism and his carousing.

To what can we ascribe the change? To some extent we can point to the change that Jung spoke of, the lifting of the dilemma between ages 16 and 19. However, the change was most dramatically evinced when Jung entered the university. This is a common phenomenon (though perhaps this is an uncommonly dramatic example of it) among people leaving the parental home (in this case in a figurative sense) and structure, and starting a new life, a new life structure. It is particularly common among college students today. A





person's characteristics are, of course, partly a function of internal factors and external factors. In the case of rapidly growing changing people (youth) internal circumstances may have changed while they are still within the same social circumstances, the same social straitjacket. Other people's view of them holds them in check. When they get a chance to change their social circumstances, to move among people that do not have preconceptions about them, they are free (or at least more free) to try on a new personality, to let out some of the reined-in aspects.<sup>11</sup>

The emergence of this new dynamic and boisterous Carl was a strain on Paul Jung. His son was expanding as he was faltering. Carl's views on religion (to the extent that he showed them) were threatening. Carl's interest in science was threatening, for Paul Jung had come to believe that science was directly opposed to some of his shaky articles of faith. His son was now living what had been his own golden age, the university years. Carl was even in the same fraternity. It was a vicarious pleasure, and probably a first hand sadness. All told, it seems that Paul Jung took it honorably if not well. Carl spoke of his father at this time as extremely altruistic if troubled and irritable.

By the summer of 1895 Paul Jung's vague physical complaints had become serious. By the fall his son "had to carry him around like a heap of bones for an anatomy class."<sup>12</sup> On January 28, 1896 Carl returned him. Emma Jung said, "he's still the same, he's very weak."<sup>13</sup>



From Memories...

He (Paul) whispered something to her, which she repeated to me, warning me with her eyes of his delirious condition: "He wants to know whether you have passed the state examination" (the final exams of medicine). I saw that I must lie. "Yes, it went very well." He sighed with relief, and closed his eyes. A little later I went in to see him again. He was alone; my mother was doing something in the adjoining room. There was a rattling in his throat, and I could see that he was in the death agony. I stood by his bed, fascinated. I had never seen anyone die before. Suddenly he stopped breathing. I waited and waited for the next breath. It did not come. Then I remembered my mother and went into the next room, where she sat by the window knitting. "He is dying," I said. She came with me to the bed, and saw that he was dead. She said as if in wonderment: "How quickly it has all passed."<sup>14</sup>

Shortly thereafter came his mother's comment (from her #2 voice), "He died in time for you." There followed days of mourning, some days of very heavy drinking. Part of Jung's pain might have been the realization that, indeed, his life was in many ways easier because of his father's death.

However, the times that followed were financially very rough. Paul Jung had left his family all of L200. The vicarage had to be sold, the Jungs moved into a small house in town. Some relatives urged Carl to quit the university and get a job. He didn't. The family managed to get by on some loans and handouts from relatives. Jung made money on



commission selling some antiques of his aunt. He became the business manager of the family. He later said of this time, "I would not have missed this time of poverty. One learns to value simple things."<sup>15</sup> In reading of this period one gets the impression that while in some ways life became more challenging, and Jung rose to meet the occasions, the essential fabric of Jung's life did not really change. He continued as the Valse, he enjoyed carousing with friends, debating. Life continued to have that boisterous "bright college years" quality.

At this stage Jung was not overly absorbed in his medical studies. He was a long way off from thinking about a specialty or life after medical school. In 1896 he stumbled across some literature on spiritualism: "My initial doubts were quickly dissipated, for I could not help seeing that the phenomena described in the book were in principle much the same as the stories I had heard again and again in the country since my earliest childhood. The material, without doubt, was authentic. But the great question of whether these stories were physically true was not answered to my satisfaction. Nevertheless, it could be established that at all times and all over the world the same stories had been reported again and again. There must be some reason for this, and it could not possibly have been the predominance of the same religious conceptions everywhere, for that was obviously not the case. Rather it must be connected with the objective behavior of the human psyche. But with regard to this cardinal question--the objective nature of the



psyche--I could find out absolutely nothing, except what the philosophers said."<sup>16</sup>

And he was off...We see here the beginning of Jung's academic interest in the nature of the psyche and the nature of bizarre, occult phenomena, interests that were to predominate in his professional life. Yet they did not have a serious quality at this time. They were interests, passions even, that concerned his extra time. These became the subjects of heated debates at the student society. Jung championed the position that science was ignoring occult phenomena and that the subject should be studied "scientifically". It was an unpopular position. Jung reports in his memoirs that only his mother's #2 personality supported him in his interests. Some biographers (Brome, Stern) feel that Jung was somewhat uncritical of the literature on this subject, as opposed to his skepticism and intellectual rigor when analyzing theology. Perhaps so, perhaps not, but the passionate searching and championing of a cause has the flavor of this transitional age.

We see this same quality in Jung's social and romantic life. From this period we have Alber Oeri's account:

"He did not think much of school dances, romancing the housemaids and similar gallantries. He told me once that it was absolutely senseless to hop round a ballroom with some female until one was covered with sweat..." however, "...dancing one night in the grand Heirten Platz at the Jofingen Festival, he concentrated his attention on a beautiful young student from French Switzerland, and suddenly became aware that all





his protestations about time-wasting sweat were false; he had fallen in love. That was normal enough. The original element appeared two weeks later. He strode into a jeweller's shop, confidently examined a number of rings, selected not one but two, put twenty centimes on the counter and hurried off toward the door again. The proprietor promptly called after him, pointing out that twenty centimes were useless, even as a down payment, and demanded the return of the rings. Jung threw the rings on the counter, cursed the proprietor for interfering with his engagement and stormed out of the shop." The hows and details are not known but Oeri ended the reminiscence simply, "The Barrel stayed unaffianced."<sup>17</sup>

His life continued in a similar vein. In 1897 he was elected president of the student society. Around this time he met his wife to be, Emma Rauschenbach. According to Stephen Black he picked her out when she was sixteen and he saw her at the top of a staircase in a Zurich hotel. He said to a friend, "That girl is my wife."

"Before you had spoken to her?"

"Yes--that's my wife. I knew it."

According to Bernard Adler the relationship actually had a long acquaintanceship before it became in reality romantic (Adler had access to the couple's love letters.<sup>18</sup> In some respects this is an example of Jung being uncanny. In other ways it's simply another example of Jung exhibiting that impulsive and unanchored quality that life often has at this stage.



The period started as Carl moved seriously on making a career decision, the first step in breaking with the life structure of a child and the first step in setting up a new life structure. He decided on medicine, basing his decisions partly on dreams, partly on the example of his grandfather, the bastard son of Goethe, partly on the expediency of the choice. By this time he had a Dream of a life of discovery and research, of achievement, and not of poverty. He turned away from his mystic side, but it was still lurking within his nascent Dream.

On entering the university he allowed himself to show an exuberant and forceful side to his character not previously shown. Despite the death of his father and the subsequent times of financial difficulty, this exuberant quality continued. He became active in the student society, became interested in spiritualism, had several romances, and did his medical work without putting too much importance in it. In short his life had the unsettled, exploratory, and slightly vagabond quality that often characterizes the Early Adult Transition Period.

#### Entering the Adult World

The Swiss system of education does not provide a convenient break in the schedule corresponding to the start of the new period. So one must look for indications in the life structure of the switch from the structure changing nature of the preceding time to the structure building nature



of Entering the Adult World. This is made somewhat difficult by the exploratory nature of this particular structural period; it's a particularly labile structure, full of fits and starts, changes and first times. However, there are indications of such a switchover in the tone and tenor of Jung's life within his memoirs:

(On reflecting on his interest in spiritualism and on Nietzsche.) "Just as Faust had opened a door for me, Zarathustra slammed one shut and it remained shut for a long time to come...I realized that one gets nowhere unless one talks to people about the things they know. The naive person does not appreciate what an insult it is to talk to one's fellows about anything that is unknown to them...I came to see that a new idea, or even just an unusual aspect of an old one, can be communicated only by facts. Facts remain and cannot be brushed aside; sooner or later someone will come upon them and know what he has found. I realized that I talked only for want of something better, that I ought to be offering facts, and these I lacked entirely. I had nothing concrete in my hands. More than ever I found myself driven toward empiricism (underlining is mine). I began to blame the philosophers for rattling away when experience was lacking and holding their tongues when they ought to have been answering with facts.

"This was in 1898, when I began to think more seriously about my career as a medical man (underlining is mine). I soon came to the conclusion that I would have to specialize."<sup>1</sup>



We see that he approached matters differently, with more gravity, and less of the vagabond, the proverbial wondering student. However, some of his specific interests remained the same. That summer as he was studying at home, "Suddenly there sounded a report like a pistol shot. I jumped up and rushed into the room from which the noise of the explosion had come. My mother was sitting flabbergasted in her arm-chair, the knitting fallen from her hands. She stammered out, "W-w-what's happened? It was right beside me!" and stared at the table. Following her eyes, I saw what had happened. The table top had split from the rim to beyond the center, and not along any joint; the split ran right through the solid wood. I was thunderstruck. How could such a thing happen?"..(he goes on to explain that the table was solid, well aged, and that the air was muggy not dry, ergo spontaneous cracking was unlikely)... "There certainly are curious accidents," I thought. My mother nodded darkly. "Yes, yes," she said in her #2 voice, "that means something." Against my will I was impressed and annoyed with myself for not finding anything to say."<sup>2</sup>

Two weeks later a similar incident occurred, this time with a solid steel knife that spontaneously split into four pieces. He took the pieces to a cutler who told him that the metal was sound, that there was no apparent explanation for its breakage.

Some biographers feel that Jung was too credulous in ascribing uncanny causes to these somewhat uncanny events. However, for him, these constituted facts and had to be





dealt with somehow. He kept the knife fragments in his possession throughout his life. More importantly the incidents predisposed him to be interested in the following events:

"A few weeks later I heard of certain relatives who had been engaged for some time in table-turning, and also had a medium, a young girl of fifteen and a half (his cousin, Helene Preiswerk, from the side of the family with the numerous "psychics"). The group had been thinking of having me meet the medium, who produced somnambulistic states and spiritualistic phenomena. When I heard this, I immediately thought of the strange manifestations in our house, and I conjectured that they might be somehow connected with this medium. I therefore began attending the regular seances which my relatives held every Saturday evening. We had results in the form of communications (through the medium) and tapping noises from the walls and the table. Movements of the table independently of the medium were questionable, and I soon found out that limiting conditions imposed on the experiment generally had an obstructive effect. I therefore accepted the obvious autonomy of the tapping noises and turned my attention to the content of the communications...After about two years of experimentation we all became rather weary of it. I caught the medium trying to produce phenomena by trickery, and this made me break off the experiments--very much to my regret, for I had learned from this example how a #2 personality is formed, how it enters into a child's consciousness and finally integrates it into itself...I set forth the results of these



observations in my doctoral thesis..

"All in all, this was the one great experience which wiped out all my earlier philosophy and made it possible for me to achieve a psychological point of view. I had discovered some objective facts about the human psyche. Yet the nature of the experience was such that once again I was unable to speak of it. I knew no one to whom I could have told the whole story (at that time). Once more I had to lay aside an unfinished problem. It was not until two years later that my dissertation appeared."<sup>3</sup>

His interest in these seances were transformed over the years into an interest in the structure of the human personality and consciousness. The thesis became a work on the phenomena of multiple personality and the functioning of the unconscious. He found "someone to hear the whole story" when he entered the field of psychiatry. However, the decision was not made immediately upon his participation in the seances. The interest ripened over the two and one-half years from the summer of 1898 until winter 1900-1901.

During this time the field of psychiatry was not in the forefront of Jung's ambitions. He had not yet associated his interests in the human psyche with this infant field dealing with the psychopathic; his medical interests were still separate from his intellectual. He took one more psychiatry course than was strictly necessary, but other than this showed no particular interest in the field; he put off his psychiatric reading until the very end of his time at the university.



In fact as medical school drew to a close in 1900 Jung had established a relationship with the new head of the internal medicine clinic, Friedrich von Muller. This was the first of Jung's mentor-protégée relationships (albeit a rather brief, truncated one). "In Muller I encountered a mind that appealed to me. I saw how a keen intelligence grasped the problem and formulated questions which in themselves were half the solution. He, for his part, seemed to see something in me, for toward the end of my studies he proposed that I should go with him, as his assistant, to Munich, where he had received an appointment. This invitation almost persuaded me to devote myself to internal medicine."<sup>4</sup>

It is easy to see that this could have been a major relationship and this is indeed the time when such mentor relationships are often started. Muller was a role model and provided a leg up within the academic world. Moreover he believed in Jung and his abilities and wanted to help Jung fulfill what we would term his Dream, or at least certain aspects of the Dream, the rationalistic, empirical, scientific aspects of Jung's Dream.

That's not the way it happened, though. As was mentioned earlier Jung had put off reading psychiatry (in preparation for his final exams) until last. In his memoirs he states that his experiences in the psychiatry course had not "pre-possessed" him in favor of psychiatry. Moreover psychiatry at that time was held in contempt by the medical world (plus ça change). This was in part due to the primitive state of the discipline, "The doctors knew almost as little as the layman and therefore shared his feelings. Mental



disease was a hopeless and fatal affair which cast its shadow over psychiatry as well. The psychiatrist was a strange figure in those days, as I was soon to learn from personal experience."

So Jung opened the text by Krafft-Ebing and: "Beginning with the preface, I read: 'It is probably due to the peculiarity of the subject and its incomplete state of development that the psychiatric textbooks are stamped with a more or less subjective character.' A few lines further on, the author called the psychoses 'diseases of the personality'. My heart suddenly began to pound, I had to stand up and draw a deep breath. My excitement was intense, for it had become clear to me, in a flash of illumination, that for me the only possible goal was psychiatry. Here alone the two currents of my interest could flow together and in a united stream dig their own bed. Here was the empirical field common to biological and spiritual facts, which I had everywhere sought and nowhere found. Here at last was the place where the collision of nature and spirit became a reality.

"My violent reaction set in when Krafft-Ebing spoke of the 'subjective character' of psychiatric textbooks. So I thought, the textbook is in part the subjective confession of the author. With his specific prejudice, with the totality of his being, he stands behind the objectivity of his experiences and responds to the 'disease of the personality' with the whole of his personality. Never had I heard anything of this sort from my teacher at the clinic.





Inspite of the fact that Krafft-Ebing's textbook did not essentially differ from other books of the kind, these few hints cast such a transfiguring light on psychiatry that I was irretrievably drawn under its spell."<sup>5</sup>

So it went. He informed Muller, who did not take it particularly well. In fact no one took the news particularly well, it was as if Jung had said that he wanted to go join a leper colony...as a leper. Jung was saddened to find himself isolated and alienated again but was elated at his discovery and he passed his examinations with flying colors.

Jung accepted and on December 10, 1900 started his "residency" or assistantship, at the Burgholzli Psychiatric Hospital in Zurich under Eugen Bleuler. Bleuler, director of the hospital, was a figure of note in the history of psychiatry who had revised the notions on the disease dementia praecox and in fact had given it its modern name, schizophrenia. He posited that the disease was caused by the action of some as yet unknown toxic substances with some complex interaction of hereditary factors. The man was an absolute teetotaler and demanded the same from all of his subordinates.<sup>6</sup> However, according to a number of graduates from the staff, he was a kind, dedicated, and benign supervisor.

Jung had chosen the hospital because it was new, eminent (as far as was possible in the young field) and was in Zurich, "for in the course of years Basel had become too stuffy for me. For the Baslers no town exists but their own; only Basel is 'civilized' and north of the river Birs



the land of the barbarians begins. My friends could not understand my going away, and reckoned I would be back in no time. But that was out of the question, for in Basel I was stamped for all time as the sone of the Reverend Paul Jung and the grandson of Professor Carl Gustav Jung."<sup>7</sup>

So Jung came to Zurich. Bleuler met Jung in the waiting room, greeted him, picked up Jung's bags and showed him to his new living quarters. From this moment on the young man was to live in a kind of psychiatric monastery. Rounds were made every day at ungodly hours of the morning. There were no secretaries; residents typed up their own patient reports. Work often continued until 10 p.m. At 10 p.m., in turn, the doors of the hospital were locked and only the senior residents were provided with keys. According to Alphonse Maeder, a colleague of Jung's from that time: "The patient was the focus of interest. The student learned how to talk with him. Burgholzli was in that time a kind of factory where you worked very much and were poorly paid. Everyone from the professor to the young resident was totally absorbed by his work. Abstinence from alcoholic drinks was imposed on everyone."<sup>8</sup>

Jung's reminiscences from this period are somewhat bitter. "With my work at the Burgholzli, life took on a undivided reality--all intention, consciousness, duty, and responsibility. It was an entry into the monastery of the world, a submission to the vow to believe only in what was probable, average, commonplace, barren of meaning, to renounce everything strange and significant, and reduce anything



extraordinary to the banal...From the clinical point of view which then prevailed the human personality of the patient, his individuality did not matter." No one but he was interested in "what actually takes place inside the mentally ill. "...Patients were labelled rubber stamped with a diagnosis and for the most part that settled the matter. The psychology of the mental patient played no role whatsoever."<sup>9</sup>

Jung's reaction to this was to submerge himself into the study and work: "For six months I locked myself within the monastic walls in order to get accustomed to the life and spirit of the asylum, and I read through the fifty volumes of the Allgemeine Zeitschrift fur Psychiatrie from its very beginnings, in order to acquaint myself with the psychiatric mentality. I wanted to know how the human mind reacted to the sight of its own destruction, for psychiatry seemed to me an articulate expression of that biological reaction which seizes upon the so-called healthy mind in the presence of mental illness. My professional colleagues seemed to me no less interesting than the patients...

I need scarcely mention that my concentration and self-imposed confinement alienated me from my colleagues. They did not know, of course, how strange psychiatry seemed to me, and how intent I was on penetrating into its spirit."<sup>10</sup>

The transition was evidently difficult for Jung and he compensated by submerging himself in his works and isolating himself in his books. After some time he did acclimate and in fact imbibed some of the local values, as it were, (from the reminiscences of Albert Oeri of a visit to Jung at the



Burgholzli), "It was amazing to see this old sinner following his master (Bleuler) into abstinence and looking so sourly at a glass of wine it was liable to turn to vinegar."

It was shortly after this six month adjustment period that Jung turned back to his experiences with his cousin the medium and analyzed the phenomena with his newly acquired sophistication in the psychiatric concepts of the time. This became his doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena". One of the sources cited (though by no means a major one) was Sigmund Freud's Interpretation of Dreams. In fact, he had read it and reported on it to a resident's journal club. In his analysis of the medium's personalities or spirit, Jung suggested that a possible cause for the splitting was a set of repressed ideas. However, Jung favored explanations like unconscious premonition as opposed to wish fulfillment, and most biographers label Jung's dissertation "pre-Freudian in character".<sup>11</sup> The thesis was published in 1902. It contained the following acknowledgement, "I would like to express my warmest thanks to my reverend teacher Professor Bleuler for his friendly encouragement and the loan of books."

We cannot know for sure what the nature of Jung's relationship to Bleuler was during this period. The above sentence may have been genuine or it may have been pro forma. There is little mention of him in Memories and as we have seen what little mention there is is critical. One can compare this with the characterization of Freud in this same





work. It is critical yet in many ways quite generous both in its estimate of Freud's worth and of the effect that it had on Jung's life. The conclusion can be drawn that Bleuler was simply never a figure of real power in Jung's life. Relations were sufficiently good for Jung to rise within the hierarchy at the Burgholzli. On the other hand Jung's adoption of teetotalism (though it lasted only into the Freudian era) may be an indication that for a time he felt close to Bleuler and his beliefs.

There are no documents available to the general public concerning the matter but some time during 1901-1902 Jung's acquaintanceship with Emma Reuschenbach blossomed into a romance. It would seem unlikely that this would have started much before 1902, for we have Jung's own account that he cloistered himself in his work for a good part of his first year in Zurich. Barbara Hannah believes that the romance was not particularly swift<sup>12</sup> and Alphonse Maeder, an associate, doubted whether there was premarital sex for such was quite rare in turn of the century Switzerland.<sup>13</sup> So we can imagine a friendship changing gradually into romance over a period of a year and a half or so. The climax of the romance, however, belongs to the story of the next period, the Age Thirty Transition.

#### Review of Entering the Adult World (22-28)

This is a structure-building period, but an exploratory one. It was marked in Jung's life by a change in emphasis, or in tone, in his activities within his life structure. He



became more serious about his medical studies. He became more serious and yet more empirical about his interest in the occult starting a two year "project" of investigating a medium. In late 1900 Jung made a sudden yet emotionally ripe and unwavering decision to specialize in psychiatry. He moved to Zurich and began work at the eminent Burgholzli Psychiatric Hospital under the eminent Professor Eugen Bleuler. The transition was not easy but the same seriousness of purpose was evident in his life there. Towards the end of this period he fell in love with Emma Rauschenbach. One can see that there have been attempts at building a life structure, at forming an occupation, at finding a mentor (first von Muller, then Bleuler) and finding a mate. It is interesting that the subject of the medium, first in the seance and then as a dissertation subject during his residency, followed Jung throughout this period. It was not really a major aspect of his life structure or occupation. It could be called a shadow aspect of his dream, taking second place but ever present.

In general, Jung's Entering the Adult World life structure was centered around professional efforts and ambitions. More specifically it was centered around academic medicine. During this time he was able to consolidate some of his diverse interests by choosing academic psychiatry. His Dream became consolidated around a professorship, achievement, congenial company, and some money. Romance and sex had a relatively small place with the life structure of this time.



## The Age 30 Transition (27-31)

Between Jung's 27th and 28th birthdays there are a whole series of events and changes taking place, despite the outward appearance of steady progress within his profession. Within less than a year Jung has proposed twice to Emma Rauschenbach, married her once, gone to Paris with a leave of absence to study hypnosis under Janet at the Saltpetriere Hospital, started a series of clinical experiments with word association tests that were to make him famous, and re-read Freud's Interpretation of Dreams with dramatically different effects than the first reading, some two to three years before. The onslaught of changes, the intellectual ferment, signal the move from a structure building period to a transitional period, a period of questioning.

Chronologically the first event was the engagement of Carl to Emma Rauschenbach (1882-1955). She was the daughter of a wealthy Schaffhausen industrialist. She was attractive, well educated, bright and quite a catch. He was brilliant, handsome, of an eminent family, and poor as a churchmouse. There are no indications why Emma turned down his first proposal of marriage. Barbara Hannah, who was close to both of the Jungs wrote: "His (Carl's) circumstances at the time he married cannot have been inviting for a girl brought up as Emma Rauschenbach had been. Her father had been a successful businessman and from all she told me later of her girlhood, she grew up at Schaffhausen within a traditional Swiss social pattern. Psychiatry was still the most despised branch of medicine and, although they had their



own separate and attractive flat, Jung's work obliged them to live at Burgholzli for the first six years of their marriage. Moreover, through all the early years of his professional life, his chief worldly ambition was to become a professor, with leisure for study and congenial colleagues... When he was made professor in 1935, his wife, according to Swiss usage, was from then on always addressed as "Frau Professor", and she told me then, with great disgust, that it was the title she disliked the most of any and that, as a young girl she had always been determined never to marry a Herr Professor! Yet she must have known when she married the young Dr. Jung how likely it was that this fate would befall her. It is therefore not surprising, as Jung reported, that she refused at first. But the relationship between them was far too fateful and "mean" for any outer considerations to hold it up for long, and Emma Rauschenbach's "No" soon became a "Yes".<sup>1</sup>

They were married after Carl returned from Paris, on February 14, 1903. The honeymoon was spent at Lake Como. Jung had the following to say on it: "Honeymoons are tricky things. I was lucky. My wife was apprehensive--but all went well. We got into an argument about the rights and wrongs of distributing money between husbands and wives." With a laugh, "Trust a Swiss bank account to break into a honeymoon in Italy!"<sup>2</sup>

Why did Jung marry her and what sort of wife did she make? There are obvious reasons, he was in love, she had





desirable qualities, it is a marrying time of life. This last was particularly true for Jung for his previous life structure had had no room for a steady love relationship. From Barbara Hannah's account we know that she had certain difficulties with Jung's professional goal. She was not an obvious choice if Jung wanted confirmation of his Dream. Yet knowing subsequent events I do not believe that this was an obstacle. She interested herself in Jung's profession, tried to keep up intellectually and in the second half of her life became a Jungian therapist and researcher. Perhaps Jung saw this latent sympathy early on, perhaps it was fortuitous. She provided him with wealth, with children, she tried to be an intellectual companion, she was extraordinarily patient and accepting, during Jung's late 30's and 40's, of a very awkward domestic triangle. When she died Jung cried, "She was a queen...a queen". He probably was right.

All of this is a long way off from the fall of 1902 when between the engagement and the marriage Jung arranged to take a leave and study psychiatry under Pierre Janet. Janet was a proponent of what is termed the Nancy school of hypnotism. This was a psychological school of thought as opposed to Charcot's physiological one. It held that hypnosis was a state of heightened suggestibility. It was this school, under its original proponents Liebault and Bernheim, that had shown to Freud an example of post-hypnotic amnesia suggesting to him the possibility of a multi-level structure of consciousness.<sup>3</sup> Janet, specifically, had been



responsible for a theory of hysteria that explained the condition by positing a congenital mental weakness which facilitates the "splitting of consciousness". This had already been opposed by Freud in his Studies in Hysteria (1894) where he suggested that it was due to somatic conversion of a repressed sexual impulse. Nonetheless Freud was controversial at that time, Janet was eminent and Paris was at that time said to be "far ahead of anywhere else".<sup>4</sup> It should be considered significant that Jung went to Paris at this time. It can be interpreted as a sign of growing intellectual restlessness, a wish to get out and beyond the limited professional structure in Zurich. This argument is especially persuasive in light of subsequent events.

Sometime after Jung's return to Zurich and his wedding to Emma, he started research on a diagnostic word association test. The test was first devised by Wilhelm Wundt, a German doctor and psychologist. The basic construction of the test was as follows: A list of test words was prepared. They were then read to the subject, the subject was required to give the first word or responses that came to mind. The response and the time taken between test word and response were recorded. The responses were then evaluated in terms of the illogical predictability. Bleuler became interested in the possibilities of the test particularly in relation to schizophrenia. It was Bleuler that had asserted that the prime symptom of schizophrenia was the "loosening of association".<sup>5</sup>

It would seem that something clicked for Jung at this



time. Jung's previous work and reading and the intellectual and personal ferment that was going on within him at the time brought about an insight: there was a pattern not simply in the types of associations of "normals" vs. schizophrenics, but delays in responses to certain charged words and a pattern of meaning in certain responses. Jung went back to Freud's Interpretation of Dreams, and "discovered how it all linked up with my own ideas. What chiefly interested me was the application to dreams of the concept of the repression mechanism, which was derived from the psychology of the neuroses. This was important to me because I had frequently encountered repressions in my experiments with word association; in response to certain stimulus words the patient either had no associative answer or was unduly slow in his reaction time. As was later discovered, such a disturbance occurred each time the stimulus word had touched upon a psychic lesion or conflict. In most cases the patient was unconscious of this. When questioned about the cause of the disturbance, he would often answer in a peculiarly artificial manner. My reading of Freud's Interpretation of Dreams showed me that the repression mechanism was at work here, and that the facts I had observed were consonant with his theory. Thus I was able to corroborate Freud's line of argument."<sup>6</sup>

We are still considering the year 1903, Jung is still only 28 or so. What character did his life have after these events and changes? For three more years it had a questioning,



weighing quality even as he strove to move forward with his projects, his professional and family life.

We know little of Jung's family life during the years 1903-1906 for we have no access to correspondence from this time and Jung (in typical Swiss fashion) did not discuss family matters in his memoirs. One can simply speculate that he and his wife had a modicum of joys and problems in adjusting to marriage (in later years the Freud correspondence and other sources reveal more of the processes and problems within this sphere). It does not appear likely that the Jungs exercised any form of birth control in the first ten years of their marriage. Their first child, Agatha, was born on December 26, 1904. Then Anna followed on February 8, 1906, Franz on November 28, 1908, Marianna on September 20, 1910, then lastly, Emma, on March 18, 1914. Jung probably was very work-oriented during this phase. (It's a fair guess, since he was said to be work oriented all his life.) There is one anecdote from this period. Jung was ill with a severe cold in the winter of 1904. Emma tried to keep him at home in bed. He pronounced, "The Burgholzli is much more important than a brood of second-rate bugs," and he was off.<sup>7</sup>

What really characterizes and sets apart the rest of this time as a distinct period was Jung's internal debate on Freud and Freudian concepts. At this time Freud was not exactly the sort of "star" an ambitious young psychiatrist was apt to "hitch his wagon to". From Jung's memoirs, "At the beginning it was not easy for me to assign Freud the proper place in my life, or to take the right attitude





toward him. When I became acquainted with his work I was planning an academic career, and was about to complete a paper that was intended to advance me at the university (the diagnostic word studies). But Freud was definitely persona non grata in the academic world at the time, and any connection with him would have been damaging in scientific circles. 'Important people' at most mentioned him surreptitiously, and at congresses he was discussed only in the corridors, never on the floor. Therefore the discovery that my association experiments were in agreement with Freud's theories was far from pleasant to me."<sup>8</sup>

The internal debate was not strictly along career or opportunistic lines either. Jung had reservations about the universal role of sexual drives within repression: "The situation was different when it came to the content of the repression. Here I could not agree with Freud. From my practice, however, I was familiar with numerous cases of neurosis in which the question of sexuality played a subordinate part, other factors standing in the foreground--for example, the problem of social adaptation, of oppression by tragic circumstances of life, prestige considerations, and so on."<sup>9</sup>

This particular debate is very typical of the age thirty transition in men. From the vantage point of age thirty the man looks up at the possibilities of his career. He must decide whether to ascend a particular ladder of advancement, whether a given ladder can be climbed and how far, whether it will limit his Dream, or give the possibility of "having



it all". For Jung this must have been quite difficult. His ostensible goal at the time was to rise up the academic ladder to a professorship. Yet he had the older dream of discovery and true scientific achievement. Still deeper were the concerns of his now distant Number Two personality, the concerns of Mysteries, of the realm of the Eternal. If these factors did not make for a sufficiently trying dilemma, Freud's doctrine contained aspects that Jung found difficult to accept.

The course of his career during this period probably compounded the difficulties, for it started to take off on its own up the conventional academic ladder. In 1904 he was asked to organize a laboratory for experimental psychopathology. The lab afforded an opportunity to expand the word association tests. Another project then took off, investigation of the psychogalvanic effect as it related to various clinical states and effects (basically the changing conductance of skin in relation to emotional factors, the basis of modern polygraph). Among his associates were two American workers, Carl Peterson and Charles Ricksher, who sent papers back to America establishing Jung's name in international circles. In 1905 Jung was appointed First Oberarzt of the Burgholzli, the deputy director of the hospital. Then he was given direct charge of the outpatient department. Following this he was appointed Privat Docent (Lecturer) in psychiatry at Zurich University. On the heels of this he became senior physician at the Psychiatric Clinic.



Jung took on teaching obligations to the younger residents. In particular he lectured on hypnosis, demonstrating techniques learned under Janet in Paris. During one demonstration he succeeded in curing a woman with hysterical paralysis. She then, "proclaimed her own miraculous cure far and wide". "In actual fact she was responsible for my local fame as a wizard and since the story got around I was indebted to her for my first private patients."<sup>10</sup>

Hypnosis did not remain a prime interest of Jung's for very long. "I soon gave it up because in using it one is only groping in the dark. One never knows how long an improvement or a cure will last, and I always had compunctions about working in such uncertainty. Now was I fond of deciding on my own what the patient ought to do. I was much more concerned to learn from the patient himself where his natural bent would lead him."<sup>11</sup>

The above paragraph indicates the direction in which Jung was growing. Recall Jung's comments on the Burgholzli when his assistantship was just starting, "Patients were labeled, rubber stamped with a diagnosis, and, for the most part, that settled the matter. The psychology of the mental patient played no role whatsoever."<sup>12</sup> He had been dissatisfied with this from the beginning. His research was taking him toward Freud but also toward working out an understanding of the meaning, the psychology of the mentally ill. This brought Jung to the last project of this period, the compilation and analysis of his work with schizophrenic patients, which was later published under the title of



"The Psychology of Dementia Praecox". In this work he carried over from his word association research the discovery that there is a meaning, a pattern to associations thought hitherto to be meaningless.

One of the classic examples of this work was the case of seventy-five year old woman with catatonic schizophrenia. She had been institutionalized for fifty years when Jung first saw her. "She could not speak, and could only take fluid or semi-fluid nourishment. She ate with her fingers, letting the food drip off them into her mouth. Sometimes it would take her almost two hours to consume a cup of milk. When not eating, she made curious rhythmic motions with her hands and arms. I did not understand what they meant. I was profoundly impressed by the degree of destruction that can be wrought by mental disease, but saw no possible explanation...Thereupon I went to our old head nurse and asked whether the patient had always been that way. "Yes, but my predecessor told me she used to make shoes." The motions were those of old time cobblers. "When the patient died shortly afterward, her elder brother came to the funeral. 'Why did your sister lose her sanity?' He told me she had been in love with a shoemaker who for some reason had not wanted to marry her, and that when he finally rejected her she had "gone off". The shoemaker movements indicated an identification with her sweetheart which had lasted until her death...Henceforth I devoted all my attentions to the meaningful connections in a psychosis."<sup>13</sup>





When the year 1906 came, Jung's projects reached publication stage. In his memoirs he recalled the time: "Once, while I was in my laboratory and reflecting again on these questions (Freud and his theories and whether to publicly affirm his support), the devil whispered to me that I would be justified in publishing the results of my experiments long before I understood his work. But then I heard the voice of my second personality: 'If you do a thing like that, as if you had no knowledge of Freud, it would be a piece of trickery. You cannot build your life upon a lie.' With that, the question was settled. From then on I became an open partisan of Freud's and fought for him."<sup>14</sup> Jung was about 31 years old; this marked the resolution of his dilemma, the end of his age thirty crisis, and the start of the structure-building Settling Down Period.

#### Review

Between Jung's 27 and 28 a number of events occurred that signaled that Jung had entered a period of change and reevaluation. He took a leave of absence to study elsewhere (Paris), he married, he embarked on a research career, and he reread Freud, this time understanding and appreciating the power and novelty of Freud's conceptions. For four years he worked at his research and in his clinics digesting and debating his professional direction and beliefs. He started a family and rose in his profession's hierarchy. Using Levinson's imagery he puzzled over which professional ladder to ascend, the conventional academic psychiatry ladder, or



this new one entailing an involvement in the nascent psycho-analytic movement. The end of the period was marked when in April of 1906 Jung decided to choose the psychoanalytic ladder.

I wish to digress. The story of Carl Jung's Settling Down years is essentially the story of Jung's professional and personal relationship with Sigmund Freud. It is a powerful and complicated story. To reach an understanding of these years in Jung's life, one must know something about the Freudian movement and certainly about Freud himself. If one keeps in mind the pattern of Freud's personal and professional relationships before and after his friendship with Jung, the course of that particular friendship will make more sense. I'll try to tell it briefly.

#### Family Background and Early Years<sup>1</sup>

Sigmund Freud was born in 1856 into a Jewish family in Moravia (now a part of Dzechoslovakia) in the Austro-Hungarian empire. He was the first of seven surviving children of the marriage. His father, Jacob Freud, had been married twice before and had two grown sons from the previous marriage at the time of his marriage to Sigmund's mother, Amelia. The five (surviving) siblings after Sigmund were girls. The sixth, Alexander, was ten years younger than Sigmund. A half-brother, Emanuel, lived nearby and he had a son, John, who was a year older than his uncle Sigmund.

We have three factors that are particularly important to our story, his Jewishness, his relationship with his



nephew, and his place within the family. Freud's father was a Jew but a "freethinker", his mother was more traditionally religious. Freud grew up with a strong identification with his ethnicity, a rage against antisemitism, but no particular religious sympathies. The woman he picked for a wife was a religious Jew. According to Ernest Jones, Freud was suspicious of all gentiles and believed that basically there was no gentile who was not at root anti-semitic. This aspect played a very strong role in the Freud-Jung relationship.

Freud has said that his relationship with his nephew, John, "had become the source of all my friendships and all my hatreds...All my friends have in a certain sense been reincarnations of this first figure...My motional life has always insisted that I should have an intimate friend and a hated enemy. I have always been able to provide myself afresh with both, and it has not infrequently happened that the ideal situation of childhood has been so completely reproduced that friend and enemy have come together in a single individual--though not, of course, both at once or with constant oscillations, as may have been the case in my early childhood."<sup>2</sup> John and his family moved to London around 1860 breaking up the relationship.

Freud's position within his family clearly put its stamp on his life. The chronological structure was in Freud's words like a book with the two brothers as the cover and the sisters as the leaves in between. Sigmund was the bright, favored, first born child and son in this large



family. This gave him a competitive urge but with an assurance of success. His mother believed implicitly in his abilities and his father was (for his time) a benevolent and loving figure (not at all what one would at first expect of the discoverer of the Oedipus complex).

### Early Career

When the time for making a career choice came, Freud decided then to matriculate at the University of Vienna in medicine. Like Jung, he had been torn between the humanities and science, and, like Jung, the choice of medicine was heavily influenced by economic factors. He spent eight years at the university (the normal is five). The reason he gave was his wide ranging interests; the five years prescribed were simply too few for him.

At age 26 Freud became engaged to Martha Bernays. She was from a family of high social status, her grandfather had been chief rabbi of Hamburg and a friend of Heinrich Heine. One uncle was a professor of languages at the University of Munich, another at the University of Heidelberg. She married below her social station in marrying Freud and caught hell for it from some of her family. They were particularly concerned that Freud would go nowhere in his career, and they certainly seemed to be right for many years. The marriage was passionate for a good number of years but cooled during Freud's forties. Martha's sister Minna came to live with the Freuds. She, far more than Martha, became Freud's intellectual companion and sounding board. (There is an interesting, though incomplete parallel with Jung's life





here. He, too, had a femme inspiratrice later on. However, she was also his mistress and Emma Jung differed from Martha Freud as well in that she participated in Jung's intellectual and professional life.)

During Freud's university years he worked at neuro-physiological research under physiologist Ernst Brucke, a founder of the school of mechanism that proposed that life should be investigated and understood by the experimental methods of chemistry and psysics.<sup>3</sup> However, Brucke in 1882 advised Freud to go into clinical practice because as a Jew his chances of advancement in Vienna in research were quite poor. He then studied internal medicine, but it did not interest him. In 1883 he worked in the psychiatric clinic under Theodor Meynert who encouraged Freud to specialize in neuropathology. As a result Freud set off in this field and began research on the effects of cocaine. He, in fact, discovered cocaine's anesthetic properties. He managed to lose credit for priority of discovery to an ophthalmologist, Carl Koller, but to gain the onus of blame when its addicting properties were discovered.

In 1885 Freud went to Paris to study at the Saltpetriere under Jean Martin Charcot, the eminent neurologist. Charcot asserted that hysteria was a functional, not anatomical disturbance, occurring in both males and females and was related to the phenomena of hypnotism. Charcot, being a mechanist, felt that the root cause of both was a hereditary degeneration of the brain. However, at about the same time



Freud was exposed to the views of the "Nancy school" of hypnotism that asserted that hypnotism can work on normal people and is a psychological phenomenon. Here Freud first witnessed examples of hypnotic amnesia.<sup>4</sup>

From the mid-1880's to the mid-1890's Freud collaborated with an older friend and mentor, Josef Breuer (1842-1925) who had worked with hypnotism and hysterics. The famous Anna O. had been a patient of his with hysterical symptoms. She had been cured by hypnosis with an abreaction or taling cure while in trance. She had then made a pass at Breuer, dissuading him from continued use of the therapy modality. Freud collaborated with Breuer on Studies in Hysteria published in 1895 (age 34). This work set forth the ideas of the unconscious, repression of feelings, conversion of repressed feelings into somatic phenomena, and the relief of the symptoms when abreaction of the repressed feelings is induced.

During the years 1892-1895 Freud moved away from hypnotic techniques, for the same reason that Breuer had gradually developed the free associative techniques of psychoanalysis (first he moved to a directive associative technique with conscious, as opposed to hypnotic suggestions, that feelings or memories would come to mind). During this period Freud struck up a friendship with a friend of Breuer's, Berlin-based otolaryngologist, Wilhelm Fliess (1858-1928). They exchanged ideas and used each other for sounding boards. The friendship was intimate and powerful. The advances that Freud made at this time were worked out in



discussion and correspondence with Fliess.

As the work on Studies in Hysteria came to a close, Freud came to feel that many of the phenomena of hysteria and repression came specifically from sexual feelings. This became the intellectual breaking point with Breuer. Breuer could not accept the psychosexual hypothesis. Yet it appears that the emotional break and the powerful resentment was Freud's. From the Psychopathology of Everyday Life: "our intimate relationship later gave place to a total estrangement...I fell into the habit of also avoiding the neighborhood and the house...as if it were forbidden territory."<sup>5</sup>

Paul Roazen tells the following anecdote: "Breuer's daughter-in-law remembered walking with him (Breuer) as an old man; suddenly he saw Freud coming straight toward him, and Breuer instinctively opened his arms. Freud passed by, pretending not to see him, which gives some idea how deeply the break must have wounded him."<sup>6</sup>

Around this time Freud entered into a massive mid-life crisis; his father died; he broke with Breuer; he had anxiety attacks, fears of death, and waves of dreams and nightmares. This started a period of deliberate introspection and self-analysis. Throughout this time Freud relied heavily on his friendship with Fliess. The work of the introspection produced Freud's monumental The Interpretation of Dreams completed at the end of 1899. It also led to Freud's "discovery" of the phenomena of childhood sexuality and the Oedipus complex. The Psychopathology of Everyday Life (1901) and Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality (1905) both stem



from the work of this period. However, when Freud emerged from his introspection, around 1900, he started to change the friendship with Fliess. The last friendly, though rather "cordial" letter exchanged was in 1902. Arguments over concepts and the priority of who originated which concept grew. Freud was not entirely aboveboard on granting credit to Fliess, particularly for the concepts of bisexuality and the latency period.

### The Movement

By 1902 Freud had started to build his psychoanalytic movement. That year the weekly meetings in Freud's study were started. The first members were Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Stekel, Max Kahane and Rudolf Reitler. To this group soon were added Sandor Ferenczi of Hungary, Hans Sachs, Viennese lawyer, Otto Rank and Karl Abraham and Max Eitingon of Berlin. There was no formal organization until two years after the start of the Freud-Jung relationship. 1908 saw the formation of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. This same year saw the first International Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg. 1909 was the first year of a psychoanalytic publication, the Jahrbuch. 1910 was the year of the formation of the International Psychoanalytic Association, with Carl Gustav Jung as its first president. This was a deliberate move on Freud's part to dissociate the psychoanalytic movement from his own person. It was also to establish a succession and to name a non-Jewish heir.

No started the time of "the heresies" and the expulsions. First came (or rather went) Adler in 1911. Then Stekel left





shortly after, came back into the fold and finally was thrown out in 1912. At the beginning of 1913 Freud broke off his personal friendship with Jung and over the next year pushed Jung and the Zurich circle out of the movement. Around this time Freud created a "secret committee" to guard the movement against heresy. The committee consisted of Otto Rank, Karl Abraham, Max Eitingon, Ernest Jones (the only non-Jew and Freud's future biographer), Sandor Ferenczi, and Hans Sachs. The years of World War I were difficult but the movement flourished after its end. The committee broke up (or dissolved in internal disputes) around 1924-1925.

Freud's own work remained extremely productive for the rest of his life. In 1923 Freud contracted cancer of the mouth. His last years were painful and dotted with operations and hospitalizations. But he lived and worked for sixteen more years, dying in exile in London at the start of World War II.

It is impossible to deal with the complexities of Freud's relations with his colleagues and followers here, for the situations were diverse and complex indeed. Freud insisted that he did not demand blind devotion and urged his "followers" to explore their own ideas and not "wait for him". Yet there was an undeniable trend. Of all Freud's colleagues (as opposed to teachers or father figures) with whom he had close personal relationships, Breuer (his mentor and friend), Fliess, Jung, Ferenczi and Rank (his second heir), none escaped his eventual rejection. I am excluding Karl Abraham, Hans Sachs, and Ernest Jones, not because they



maintained relations with Freud, but because by their own admission Freud was never emotionally close to them. Sachs said of Freud and his meeting with him just before Freud's death, "Fundamentally he remained as remote as when I first met him in the lecture hall (thirty years earlier)."<sup>7</sup> The list of significant members who dropped out were expelled by Freud includes Alfred Adler, Wilhelm Stekel, Carl Jung, Otto Rank, Max Kahane, Victor Tausk (suicide), Herbert Silberer (suicide), Wilhelm Reich, and Sandor Rado. (Ferenczi was not actually kicked out, or he died before he could be, depending on how one looks at it.) This includes three-quarters of the original study group in Vienna.

There are no women in this group. Freud had quite a few women followers, in fact, his daughter, Anna, became his "heir" as head of the psychoanalytic movement. He had no major breaks with any of them. Moreover he was able to accept from them (Ruth Brunswik, Helene Deutsch, and his daughter, Anna, in particular) changes in the area of child and ego psychology that had been heresy for male disciples a few years earlier.

These patterns in Freud's life before and after his friendship with Jung must be considered when one tries to understand why the relationship had the particular course that it did.



The Beginning of the Freud-Jung Friendship

Jung acknowledged the intellectual debt to Freud in his Diagnostic Association Studies and in early April sent Freud a copy. In reply he received the following letter:

"Dear Colleague,

Many thanks for sending me your Diagnostic Association Studies which in my impatience I had already acquired. Of course your latest paper, "Psychoanalysis and Association Experiments" pleased me most, because in it you argue on the strength of your own experience that everything I have said about the hitherto unexplored fields of our discipline is true. I am confident that you will often be in a position to back me up, but I shall also gladly accept correction.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Freud."<sup>1</sup>

As was indicated in the previous chapter, Jung was quite a catch for Freud. He was young, brilliant, rising up the academic ladder at one of Europe's most prestigious psychiatric institutions, and a gentile. Here was a chance to broaden the new movement, to escape from the criticism that psychoanalysis was a solely Jewish movement. Freud's sensitivity to anti-semitism allowed him to see that such an identification was good neither for the movement nor for the Jews. There is more to Freud's eagerness than that.

The Diagnostic Association Studies were a very elegant experimental demonstration of processes that Freud had set forth



in terms of case histories and analyses of dream symbolism. It was a major coup. Furthermore within the work Jung had developed the concept of the "feeling tone" or unconscious conceptual linkages that tied together the words and concepts that elicited the abnormal association responses. He called these linkages "complexes". When the friendship had long since broken up it was a source of irritation to Freud and his followers that such a central psychoanalytic term as "the complex" had been the gift of Carl Jung. But it gives an indication of how valuable an "acquisition" he was in 1906.

On the other side it seems that Jung knew full well the consequences of what he had done. In the preface to his edition of the Freud-Jung correspondence, William McGuire said, "The book had the force of a direct message, for in the studies written by both Jung and Bleuler there were citations of Freud's work that amply demonstrated the acceptance psychoanalysis had found at the Burgholzli."<sup>2</sup> In May of 1906 Jung attended a psychiatric congress at Baden-Baden. He publicly defended Freud from an attack by the eminent Gustav Aschaffenburg, Professor of Psychiatry and Neurology at the University of Heidelberg. This was a bold (some would have said foolhardy) public declaration of professional and intellectual allegiance. Which is not to say that Jung came forth acknowledging the whole Freudian Gospel as gospel, at this time. For a man in Jung's position, any public support was considered quite dangerous.





We have here an example of a particular theoretical problem in adult development. How quickly does the conformation of the life structure change as it moves from a structure changing period to a structure building one, or vice versa? What is the nature of the transition and when can one tell when it is complete? These questions are even more difficult to answer in a secondary source biography, one is so much more limited in the information that one has. One first looks for marker events, such as the initiation of the correspondence. One tries to find indications that the emotional tone or the actions of the individual have certain consistent qualities. One tries to find indications among a number of the components of the life structure.

In this particular case we do not have good information on Jung's family life so we are forced to concentrate on his professional life. Here we encounter certain historical and geographical problems. Jung was not simply an executive taking on a certain job during his Settling Down Period. He was a psychiatrist in Switzerland in 1906. The psychoanalytic movement was just taking off; there was no physical institution that he could join. He did initiate contact with Freud and then try to organize within Zurich psychiatric circles support for the new movement. However, his life was of necessity still in Zurich, still at the Burgholzli, still somewhat under Eugen Bleuler. Moreover the relationship with Freud of necessity took some time to build, particularly considering the physical distance. By December of 1906 the correspondence is going full swing. By the next March they



had met and their friendship-protégé-mentor relationship was fully active.

Was the time between March of 1906 and 1907 a transition into the Settling Down Period or was it simply a lag due to physical circumstances? It is my own prejudice that the latter is true. Jung's actions and writing seems to me that of a person that has taken up the choices generated by his transition period and is now going to try to act and build on them. Yet others can take the view that in 1906-1907 he moved into the period gradually, trying out the new choice, seeing if it made a good fit. The reader will have to make his own judgment.

In July 1906 Jung completed his Psychology of Dementia Praecox and wrote the following in his introduction:

"Even a superficial glance at my work will show how much I am indebted to the brilliant discoveries of Freud. As Freud has not yet received the recognition and appreciation he deserves, but is still opposed in the most authoritative circles, I hope I may be allowed to define my position towards him. My attention was drawn to Freud by the first book of his I happened to read, The Interpretation of Dreams, after which I also studied his other writings. I can assure you that in the beginning I naturally entertained all the objections that are customarily made against Freud in the literature. But I told myself, Freud could be refuted only by one who has made repeated use of the psychoanalytic method and who really investigates as Freud does; that is, by one who had made a long and patient study of everyday



life, hysteria, and dreams from Freud's point of view. He who does not or cannot do this should not pronounce judgement on Freud, else he acts like those notorious men of science who disdained to look through Galileo's telescope. Fairness to Freud, however, does not imply, as many fear, unqualified submission to a dogma; one can very well maintain an independent judgement. If I for instance, acknowledge the complex mechanisms of dreams and hysteria, this does not mean that I attribute to the infantile sexual trauma the exclusive importance that Freud apparently does. Still less does it mean that I place sexuality so predominantly in the foreground, or that I grant the psychological universality which Freud, it seems, postulates in view of the admittedly enormous role which sexuality plays in the psyche. As for Freud's therapy it is at best but one of several possible methods, and perhaps does not always offer in practice what one expects from it in theory. Nevertheless, all these things are the merest trifles compared with the psychological principles whose discovery is Freud's greatest merit; and to them the critics pay far too little attention. He who wishes to be fair to Freud should take to hear the words of Erasmus: "Ununquemque move lapidem, omnia experire, nihil intentatum relinque" (move every stone, try everything, leave nothing unattempted)."<sup>3</sup>

In a letter dated 29 December 1906 Jung discussed this introduction with Freud explaining it thusly: "I understand perfectly that you cannot be anything but dissatisfied with my book since it treats your researches too ruthlessly. I am perfectly well aware of this. The principle uppermost in



my mind while writing it was consideration for the academic German public. If we don't take the trouble to present this seven-headed monster with everything tastefully served up on a silver salver, it won't bite, as we have seen on countless occasions before. It is therefore entirely in the interest of our cause to give heed to all those factors which are likely to whet its appetite. For the time being, unfortunately, these include a certain reserve and the hint of an independent judgement regarding your researches. It was this that determined the general tenor of my book."

The letter is, of course, from a somewhat later time. If it is truthful, Jung was deeply committed to Freud by the time of July 1906. If it is an instance of projecting back into the past a current view, it at least tells us of Jung's allegiance later in the year. In studying that preface on its own merits, I am struck by a certain timeless quality. After all the ups and downs of his relationship to Freud and the later ups and downs of his independent work, that statement could still stand as Jung's overall judgement of Freud.

The actual course of the correspondence in 1906 went as follows: In October Freud sent to Jung a collection of assorted short papers of his. Jung responded on October 5 thanking him and telling Freud of further correspondence that he had with Aschaffenburg continuing the argument about Freud. He closes the letter with the note that "Bleuler is completely converted" to Freud's cause (this turned out not to be true, Bleuler waffled back and forth





for years). The correspondence is now very rapid and continued to be free-flowing until 1913. Jung writes and publishes an article for the Munchner Medizinische Wochenschrift entitled, "Freud's Theory of Hysteria: A Reply to Aschaffenburg". He reports in his Memoirs, "In response to this article, two German professors wrote to me, warning that if I remained on Freud's side and continued to defend him, I would be endangering my academic career. I replied, 'If what Freud says is the truth, I am with him. I don't give a damn for a career if it has to be based on the premise of restricting research and concealing the truth.'"<sup>4</sup>

As the correspondence continues we see a negotiation, a jockeying for position, going on vis a vis the role of sexuality in psychoanalytic theory. Jung, October 1906, "It seems to me that though the genesis of hysteria is predominantly, it is not exclusively sexual."<sup>5</sup> Freud, October, "Your writings have long led me to suspect that your appreciation of my psychology does not extend to all my views on hysteria and the problem of sexuality, but I venture to hope that in the course of the years you will come much closer to me than you now think possible. Jung, October 23, "By the same post I am taking the liberty of sending you another offprint containing some more researches on psychoanalysis. I don't think you will find the "sexual" standpoint I have adopted is too reserved. The critics will come down on it accordingly.

"As you have noticed, it is possible that my reservations about your far-reaching views are due to lack of



experience. But don't you think that a number of borderline phenomena might be considered more appropriately in terms of the other basic drive, hunger for instance, eating, sucking (predominantly hunger), kissing (predominantly sexual)? Two complexes existing at the same time are always bound to coalesce...Perhaps you mean no more than this; in that case I have misunderstood you and would be entirely of your opinion. Even so, however, one feels alarmed by the positivism of your presentation."<sup>6</sup>

Freud, October 27, "Many thanks for the new analysis. You certainly did not show too much reserve..I have no theoretical objection to according equal importance to the other basic drives, if it only would assert itself unmistakably in the psychoneuroses...But I own that these are knotty questions that still require through investigation.. You see that you have not bored me in the least (in response to a polite self-deprecating remark of Jung's). I am delighted with your letters..."

Jung, December 4, "I am only beginning to understand many of your formulations and several of them are still beyond me which does not mean by a long shot that I think you are wrong. I have gradually learned to be cautious even in disbelief." Freud, December 6, "...your last letter has given me great pleasure...I am delighted with your promise to trust me for the present in matters where your experience doe not yet enable you to make up your own mind-- though of course only until it does enable you to do so. Even though I look at myself very critically, I believe I



deserve such trust, but I ask it of very few persons."

Jung, December 29, this is the apology letter for the preface to The Psychology of Dementia Praecox saying that it was aimed to win a hearing among academics and therefore was more evenhanded than Jung actually was vis a vis Freud.

This letter marks a turn in the relationship. Discussion on the place of sexuality stops and discussion turns to personal matters (as a matter of fact also concerning sexuality-Jung's). Freud, in a missing letter, has commented on a dream related in The Psychology of Dementia Praecox:

"I saw horses being lifted by thick cables to a great height. One of them, a powerful brown horse which was tied up with straps and was hoisted aloft like a package, struck me particularly. Suddenly the cable broke and the horse crashed to the street. I thought it must be dead. But it immediately leapt up again and galloped away. I noticed that the horse was dragging a heavy log with it, and I wondered how it could advance so quickly. It was obviously frightened and might easily have caused an accident. Then a rider came up on a little horse and rode along slowly in front of the frightened horse, which moderated its pace somewhat. I still feared that the horse might run over the rider, when a cab came along and drove in front of the rider at the same pace, thus bringing the frightened horse to a still slower gait. I then thought now all is well, the danger is over."<sup>7</sup>

Jung replies, "you have put your finger on the weak points in my dream analysis. I do in fact know the dream material and the dream thoughts much better than I have said.



I know the dreamer intimately: he is myself. The "failure of the rich marriage" refers to something essential that is undoubtedly contained in the dream, though not in the way you think. My wife is rich. For various reasons I was turned down when I first proposed; later I was accepted, and I married. I am happy with my wife in every way (not merely from optimism), though of course this does not prevent such dreams. So there has been no sexual failure, more likely a social one. The rationalistic explanation, "sexual restraint", is, as I have said, merely a convenient screen pushed into the foreground and hiding an illegitimate sexual wish that had better not see the light of day..."<sup>8</sup>

In Freud's next letter he says that he guessed the identity of the dreamer, so refrained from saying more, but thought that Jung might have pointed out the log--penis symbolism and the gallop-career symbolism "without giving yourself away".

Jung explains, "There are special reasons why I did not bring in the interpretation log-penis, the chief of which was that I was not in a position to present my dream impersonally; my wife therefore wrote the whole description(!!)."<sup>9</sup>

This is the first indication we have concerning Jung's reaction to his married life. We can probably take Jung's reassurance of happiness as true for the surface relations (simply because there is a consistent emphasis throughout his life on honesty despite the cost). However, it presages a problem that was to arise over the next six years or so. Jung became more and more restless under the restrictions.





of monogamy. The "social failure" allusion is unclear. It may refer to the social differences between husband and wife, perhaps reflected in Emma's initial refusal. It may also refer to a certain isolation that Emma experienced as Jung was courted by associates for his brilliance and positions and Emma was left alone (we will reexamine this when we reach 1911 and the Emma Jung-Freud correspondence). Notice that Emma had helped in the preparation of The Psychology of Dementia Praecox (the reason that Jung could not be totally frank). Despite her growing family, Emma was already trying to participate intellectually in her husband's life.

In January the correspondence turns to arranging a meeting between Freud and Jung. The visit was set for early March of 1907. Jung's wife and his associate, Ludwig Binswanger, were to accompany him.

The meeting took place on Sunday, March 3 at 10 in the morning. Emma went with her husband to Freud's residence. In Ernest Jones' account (Jones was Freud's biographer, founder of the English Psychoanalytic Society and originally Jung's friend dating from 1908): "Jung had much to tell Freud and to ask him, and with intense animation he poured forth in a spate for three whole hours. Then the patient absorbed listener interrupted him with the suggestion that they conduct their discussion more systematically..." According to Jones, Freud looked upon the meeting as very important because "he had seldom encountered a man with such wide-ranging knowledge and so much lively sympathy for the mechanism of neuroses. There was also an intellectual



dynamism which injected tremendous verve into their talk, and above all, Jung's unrestrained imaginative flow captivated Freud.<sup>10</sup>

From Jung's memoirs, "(we) talked virtually without a pause for thirteen hours. Freud was the first man of real importance I had encountered; in my experience up to that time, no one else could compare with him. There was nothing the least trivial in his attitude. I found him extremely intelligent, shrewd, and altogether remarkable. And yet my first impressions of him remained somewhat tangled; I could not make him out.

What he said about his sexual theory impressed me. Nevertheless, his words could not remove my hesitations and doubts. I tried to advance these reservations of mine on several occasions, but each time he would attribute them to my lack of experience. Freud was right; in those days I had not enough experience to support my objections. I could see that his sexual theory was enormously important to him, both personally and philosophically. This impressed me, but I could not decide to what extent this strong emphasis upon sexuality was connected with subjective prejudices of his, and to what extent it rested upon verifiable experiences...

There was something else that seemed to me significant at that first meeting. It had to do with things which I was able to think out and understand only after our friendship was over. There was no mistaking the fact that Freud was emotionally involved in his sexual theory to an extra-



ordinary degree. When he spoke of it, his tone became urgent almost anxious, and all signs of his normally critical and skeptical manner vanished. A strange, deeply moved expression came over his face, the cause of which I was at a loss to understand."<sup>11</sup>

There are some accounts of this meeting from Freud's children, Martin and Mathilde. Martin Freud: "Jung had a commanding presence. He was very tall and broad-shouldered, holding himself more like a soldier than a man of science and medicine (indeed he was, Switzerland having compulsory military service and reserve duty for all males well into their forties). His beard was purely teutonic with a strong chin, a small moustache, blue eyes and closely cropped hair. He never made the slightest attempt to make polite conversation with mother or us children but pursued the debate which had been interrupted by the call to dinner. Jung on these occasions did all the talking and father, with unconcealed delight, did all the listening."

Mathilde recounted shopping with Jung while in Vienna and "as they came into the main street they found it lined with soldiers because the Emperor was about to pass." "Excuse me!" Jung said abruptly, and simply ran off to join the crowd like an enthusiastic boy. Binswanger was then introduced to the Freuds (Binswanger was later to become one of the founders of existential analysis). Jung and he attended the next Wednesday meeting of the Vienna circle.

After Jung's Vienna visit they went on to travel to Budapest, Fiume and Abbazia. There is a note in a much later



bit of correspondence that he had a sudden powerful infatuation for a woman that he met while in Abbazia. Few details of this incident were forthcoming, however.<sup>13</sup>

The next exchange of letters gave a post mortem on the meeting. From Jung's March 31 letter: "You will doubtless have drawn your own conclusions from the prologation of my reaction time (25 days). Up till now I had a strong resistance to writing because until recently the complexes aroused in Vienna were still in an uproar (he later was to include the infatuation incident in Abbazia under this rubric). Only now have things settled down a bit, so that I hope to write you a more or less sensible letter...I am no longer plagued by doubts as to the rightness of your theory. The last shreds were dispelled by my stay in Vienna, which for me was an event of the first importance. Binswanger will already have told you of the tremendous impression you made on me. I shall say no more about it, but I hope my work for your cause will show you the depths of my gratitude and veneration..."

Freud replied, "Dear colleague (Lieber und sehr geehrter Herr College--dear and respected as opposed to the previous formal ihr collegial ergebener)..Your visit was most delightful and gratifying; I should like to repeat in writing various things that I confided to you by word of mouth, in particular, that you have inspired me with confidence for the future, that I now realize that I am as replaceable as everyone else and that I could hope for no one better than





yourself, as I have come to know you, to continue and complete my work..."<sup>14</sup>

With this exchange (1907) the mentor-protégé relationship is fully established. Freud was nineteen years the elder and very concerned about his legacy, about the future of his movement. He thus gave to the relationship a stronger father-son quality than is often the case, such as his own with his mentor-peer, Breuer. In the correspondence quoted heretofore the reader has been given the basic themes of the relationship; the rest is variation and development. To obtain an overview of the course of the friendship the reader should consult Fig. 4. The changes in salutations and their dates have been listed therein. Freud's salutations are particularly demonstrative of each change in the degree of intimacy.

#### Psychoanalytic Career (Early)

Over the next two years Jung increases his commitment and work to the growing psychoanalytic movement. This is manifested in 1907 by relations and competition with the other members of Freud's circle. There was friction between Jung and the Viennese followers, but here Jung had Freud's clear preference and his own realization of relative worth on his side. (Freud referred to the Viennese as "Judenbengels".)<sup>15</sup> Close to home in the Burgholzli, Jung had more formidable competition in the person of Karl Abraham, originally of Berlin and a resident at the Burgholzli since 1904. By 1907 he was Bleuler's assistant and had established



Fig. 4    Table of Salutations<sup>16</sup>

Freud

Geehrter Herr College

(April 1906)

Lieber und sehr geehrter Herr College

(April 1907)

Lieber Freund und College

(November 1907)

Lieber Freund

(February 1908)

Mein Lieber Freund und Erben (and heir)

(October 15, 1908) (used once)

Lieber Herr doktor Jung

(November 14, 1912)

Geehrter Herr Praesident/

Lieber Herr Doktor

(January 3, 1913)

Jung

Hochgeehrter Herr Professor

(October 1906)

Lieber Herr Professor

(October 21, 1908)

Sehr geehrter Herr

Professor

(October 27, 1913)



correspondence with Freud. Jung first wrote of his feelings toward Abraham in August:

"As usual you have hit the nail on the head with your accusation that my ambition is the agent provocateur of my fits of depression...In one of your earlier letters you asked for my views about Dr. Abraham. I admit at once that I am "jealous" of him because he corresponds with you. (Forgive me this candour, however tasteless it may seem!) There are no objections to A. Only, he isn't my type. For instance, I once suggested that he collaborate on my writings, but he declined. Now he pricks up his ears whenever Bleuler and I talk about what we are investigating, etc. He then comes up with a publication. Of all our assistants he is the one who always holds a little aloof from the main work and then suddenly steps into the limelight with a publication, as a loner. Not only I but the other assistants too have found this rather unpleasant. He is intelligent but not highly original...I would ask you to subtract a personal touch of venom from this judgement. Apart from these cavilings A. is an agreeable associate, very industrious and much concerned with all the bureaucratic affairs of the Clinic, which nobody can say of me (underlining is mine)." <sup>17</sup>

Abraham was to leave the Burgholzli later in that fall for Berlin but the competition with Jung was to continue for some time (basically until Jung's position is fully consolidated in 1910 when he is named/elected president of the new International Psychoanalytic Society).



Another wrinkle in the complex Freud-Jung friendship is revealed in the October 28, 1907 letter of Jung's: "The other (reason for tardiness in corresponding) is to be found in the realm of affect, in what you have termed my "self-preservation complex"--marvellous expression! And indeed you know that this complex has played many a trick on me... Actually--and I confess this to you with a struggle--I have a boundless admiration for you both as a man and a researcher, and I bear you no conscious grudge...it is rather that my veneration fo you has something of the character of a "religious" crush. Though it does not really bother me, I still feel it is disgusting and ridiculous because of its undeniable erotic undertone. This abominable feeling comes from the fact that as a boy I was the victim of a sexual assault by a man I once worshipped...This feeling, which I still have not quite got rid of, hampers me considerably. Another manifestation of it is that I find psychological insight makes relations with colleagues who have a strong transference to me downright disgusting. I therefore fear your confidence (underlining is Jung's). I also fear the same reaction from you when I speak of my intimate affairs.."

Unfortunately Freud's reply to this letter is missing. In Jung's reply to that he says, "Heartiest thanks for your letter, which worked wonders for me. You are absolutely right to extol humour as the only decent reaction to the inevitable."<sup>18</sup> So we know that Freud was at least comforting. Interestingly enough there was something of a parallel





process in Freud. In discussing his relationship to Fliess and a fainting incident involving Jung (1912), Freud said to Ernest Jones, "There is some piece of unruly homosexual feeling at the root of the matter."<sup>19</sup> Again in a letter to Ferenczi (from the same time), "Since Fliess' case...A part of homosexual cathexis has been withdrawn and made use of to enlarge my ego."<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after this, three incidents occurred: Abraham left Zurich, Ernest Jones came to Zurich to visit Jung and establish connections with the psychoanalytic movement, and, upon prompting from Ferenczi and the Hungarian contingent, work was started for arranging the first International Congress of Psychoanalysis in April of 1908.

Many years later, in an interview with Vincent Brome, Jones gave a picture of Jung at the time: "But he could change his mood like a chameleon. One moment the big, vibrant, charming chairman of the group (a local Zurich group dedicated to the study of psychoanalysis that Jung had just started) and the next a vociferous intervener who, when confronted by opposition, put his case with vigour which some thought--well--pretty rough. I like him at the time. He did not mince his words. He was forthright and--at that stage--neo-Freudian to the point where you wouldn't know the difference...I think Jung was partly the ventriloquist victim of Swiss puritanism. He could not go along--entirely with Freud--even if he wished to--and he didn't. I had the impression at the time that he was suffering from a good



deal of stress--some internal conflicts I could only guess at--which he did not bring into the open. He seemed to get along very well with his wife in public. I've no idea what it was like in private. He could be a witty man." From Jones' autobiography, "I could describe Jung as a breezy personality, he had a restlessly active and quick brain, was forceful or even domineering in temperament and exuded vitality and laughter; he was certainly a very attractive person."<sup>21</sup>

As work toward the Congress proceeded, Freud's salutations change once more. He insists that if he is to open the Congress, Jung must give the closing address.<sup>21</sup> The Congress commenced on April 26, 1908. Freud delivered a paper on his work with "the Rat Man" that went on for five hours. Jung's work dealt with dementia praecox and sided with the "brain toxin" theory of causation. Abraham delivered an opposing, more psychoanalytic viewpoint which did not acknowledge Jung's or Bleuler's work at all. It was a source of feuding for quite some time. On the whole, the Salzburg Congress was considered a huge success and a generally amiable get-together. Out of the Congress came the idea to set up an international journal dedicated to psychoanalysis. This became the Jahrbuch fur Psychoanalytische und Psychopathologische Forschungen (the Yearbook) and Jung was designated as its chief editor.

In September of 1908 Freud visited Jung in Zurich and stayed with the Jungs in their apartment at the Burgholzli. This was a confirmation of his relationship with Jung and his



next letter contains the salutation, "my dear friend and heir".<sup>22</sup> At this time Freud also established a friendship with Emma Jung, which was to blossom into a separate correspondence later on. Emma said of him at the time "a delightful man--on the gloomy side perhaps--I talked to him once about my own troubles."<sup>23</sup> It was during this visit that Jung revealed he had resigned as Bleuler's deputy. According to Jung at a much later date this was because of his increased patient load and responsibilities to psychoanalysis. This may also have been a product of the cooling of his relationship with Bleuler who passed several times when teaching appointments opened up that year.

Later in the year (November) Emma was to give birth to their first and only son. Jung wrote, "having dropped all my duties today because my wife is about to be confined..." (December 3) Heartiest thanks for your congratulatory telegram. You can imagine our joy. The birth went off normally, mother and child (Franz Jung) are doing well. Too bad we aren't peasant anymore, otherwise I could say: Now that I have a son I can depart in peace. A great deal more could be said on this complex-theme." We get more of a glimpse of the family man, Jung at this time, how he drops everything when his wife nears the time of birth, how he talks to his other children about the new baby, their fears, and their questions about birth in the correspondence. His accounts have a somewhat clinical tone (he is after all writing to the originator of the theory of childhood sexuality). But he resist too much application of theory saying "Agatha



(his eldest) has never heard of little Hans.", thereby ending the matter on a humorous if subtly defiant note.

### The Occult

March of 1909 saw another visit of the Jungs to the Freuds in Vienna. The major subject of the meeting became the occult. From Jung's memoirs, "It interested me to hear Freud's views on precognition and on parapsychology in general...(1909) he rejected this entire complex of questions as nonsensical, and did so in terms of so shallow a positivism that I had difficulty in checking the sharp retort on the tip of my tongue. It was some years before he recognized the seriousness of parapsychology and acknowledged the factuality of "occult" phenomena (due to the efforts of Jung and Ferenczi).

"While Freud was going on this way, I had a curious sensation. It was as if my diaphragm were made of iron and were becoming red-hot--a glowing vault. And at that moment there was such a loud report in the bookcase, which stood right next to us, that we both started up in alarm, fearing the thing was going to topple over on us. I said to Freud: "There, that is an example of a so-called catalytic exteriorization phenomenon." Freud: "Oh come, that is sheer bosh." Jung: "It is not. You are mistaken, Herr Professor. And to prove my point I now predict that in a moment there will be another such loud report!" Sure enough, no sooner had I said the words than the same detonation went off in the bookcase. To this day I do not know what gave me this certainty.





But I knew beyond all doubt that the report would come again. Freud only stared aghast at me."<sup>24</sup>

Freud mentioned the incident in his next letter: "It is strange that on the very same evening when I formally adopted you as eldest son and anointed you--in partibus infidelium (in the eyes of the infidel)--as my successor and crown prince, you should have divested me of my paternal dignity, which divesting seems to have given you as much pleasure as I, on the contrary, derived from the investiture of your person...I don't deny that your stories and your experiment made a deep impression on me..(he then goes to explain his reexamination of the circumstances saying that he never heard creaks from the case before but). At first I was inclined to accept it as proof, if the sound that was so frequent when you were here were not heard again after your departure--but since then I have heard it repeatedly, not, however, in connection with my thoughts and never when I am thinking about you or this particular problem of yours. (And not at the present moment, I add by way of a challenge.) My credulity, or at least my willingness to believe, vanished with the magic of your personal presence; once again, for some inward reasons that I can't put my finger on, it strikes me as quite unlikely that such phenomena exist...Accordingly, I put my fatherly horned-rimmed spectacles on and again warn my dear son to keep a cool head, for it is better not to understand something than make such great sacrifices to understanding..(he then discusses his penchant for "the specifically Jewish nature of my mysticism" his concern for



numbers and superstitious worries about the age of his death. He concludes with) Consequently, I shall receive further news of your investigations of the spook complex with the interest one accords to a charming delusion in which one does not oneself participate."<sup>25</sup>

As was pointed out above Freud was later 'o accept the possibility of the "occult". I would draw attention to Freud's line "the magic of your personal presence". It is important to know that, whatever one makes of the incident itself, Jung had the power to sway such a man as Sigmund Freud, if only for a while.

#### The Trip to America

Sometime during the first half of 1909, both Freud and Jung accepted separate invitations of Prof. Stanley Hall to lecture at Clark University to Worchester, Massachusetts.

(There is some uncertainty as to when Jung received his invitation, it is first mentioned in June of 1909.) Freud, Jung, and Ferenczi met on August 20, 1909 in Bremen to sail to America. While dining in Bremen, the first of Freud's two famous fainting incidents took place. According to Jung: "It was provoked--indirectly--by my interest in the "peat-bog" corpses (corpses of prehistoric men preserved by the humic acid in the peat bogs). This interest of mine got on Freud's nerves. "Why are you so concerned with these corpses?" he asked me several times. He was inordinately vexed by the whole thing and during one such conversation,



while we were having dinner together he suddenly fainted. Afterward he said to me that he was convinced that all this chatter about corpses meant I had death-wishes toward him. I was more than surprised by this interpretation. I was alarmed by the intensity of his fantasies--so strong that, obviously, they could cause him to faint..."<sup>25</sup>

Thus the seven week trip to the United States was inaugurated. According to Jung: "We were together every day, and analyzed each other's dreams. At the time I had a number of important ones, but Freud could make nothing of them. I did not regard that as any reflection on him, for it sometimes happens to the best analyst that he is unable to unlock the riddle of a dream. It was a human failure and I would never have wanted to discontinue our dream analyses on that account...But then something happened which proved to be a severe blow to the whole relationship.

"Freud had a dream--I would not think it right to air the problem it involved. I interpreted it as best I could, but added that a great deal more could be said about it if he would supply me with some additional details from his private life. Freud's response to these words was a curious look--a look of the utmost suspicion. Then he said, "But I cannot risk my authority!" At that moment he lost it altogether. That sentence burned itself into my memory; and in it the end of our relationship was already foreshadowed. Freud was placing personal authority above truth.



As I have already said, Freud was able to interpret the dreams I was then having only incompletely or not at all. They were dreams with collective contents, containing a great deal of symbolic material. One in particular was important to me, for it led me for the first time to the concept of the "collective unconscious" and thus formed a kind of prelude to my book, *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* (Transformations and Symbols of the Libido).

This was the dream, I was in a house I did not know, which had two stories. It was "my house": I found myself in the upper story, where there was a kind of salon furnished with fine old pieces in rococo style. On the walls hung a number of precious old paintings. I wondered that this should be my house, and thought, "Not bad." But then it occurred to me that I did not know what the lower floor looked like. Descending the stairs, I reached the ground floor. There everything was much older, and I realized that this part of the house must date from about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The furnishings were medieval; the floors were of red brick. Everywhere it was rather dark. I went from one room to another, thinking, "Now I really must explore the whole house." I came upon a heavy door, and opened it. Beyond it, I discovered a stone stairway that led down to the cellar. Descending again, I found myself in a beautifully vaulted room which looked exceedingly ancient. Examining the walls, I discovered layers of brick among the ordinary stone blocks, and chips of brick in the mortar.





As soon as I saw this I knew that the walls dated from Roman times.. My interest by now was intense. I looked more closely at the floor. It was of stone slabs, and in one of these I discovered a ring. When I pulled it, the stone slab lifted, and again I saw a stairway of narrow stone steps leading down into the depths. These, too, I descended, and entered a low cave cut into the rock. Thick dust lay on the floor, and in the dust were scattered bones and broken pottery, like remains of a primitive culture. I discovered two human skulls, obviously very old and half disintegrated. Then I awoke.

What chiefly interested Freud in this dream were the two skulls. He returned to them repeatedly, and urged me to find a wish (underlining is Jung's) in connection with them. I knew perfectly well of course, what he was driving at; that secret death-wishes were concealed in the dream...(Jung felt that that was totally off base.)...I also had some intimation of what the dream might really mean. But I did not then trust my own judgment, and wanted to learn from him. Therefore I submitted to his intention and said, "My wife and my sister-in-law--after all, I had to name someone whose death was worth the wishing..." Jung took this tack because he was afraid of losing Freud's friendship if he "insisted on his point of view".<sup>26</sup>

To Jung the house represented an image of the human psyche. Consciousness was represented by the salon, for it was inhabited. The ground floor was the first level of the unconscious. "The deeper I went, the more alien and the



darker the scene became. In the cave I discovered remains of a primitive culture, that is, the world of the primitive man within myself.."

As the trip continued there were more intimations of trouble, more friction. As they entered New York, Freud said to Jung, "Won't they get a surprise when they hear what we have to say to them!" Jung's reply was "How ambitious you are." Freud then said, "Me? I'm the most humble of men and the only one who isn't ambitious." Jung retorted, "That's a big thing to be--the only one."<sup>27</sup>

Yet the rift between them at that time must not be exaggerated. Jung wrote to Emma of the tumultuous welcome accorded to Freud, Jung and Ferenczi at Clark University. They were "the men of the hour"...Freud is in his seventh heaven and I am glad with all my heart to see him so." The American visit had a positive effect on all of them, though Freud was not taken with the Americans. Jung was, though he had a number of criticisms. But he said, "Here one is in almost a constant whirlwind. But I have, thank God, completely regained my capacity for enjoyment, so that I can look forward to everything with zest."<sup>28</sup>

The visit to America took some time to really have an effect. Jung viewed it as a watershed event. He felt that from that point his independence from Freud grew. Following his return he did, indeed initiate a new and personal project, an analysis of religious and mythological themes and symbols. This led to his work the Transformations and the Symbols of the Libido which became the issue of the rupture of his



relationship with Freud.

### Adaptation Vs Development Forces

There is a theoretical point lurking here. You will recall that according to Levinson's theory the Settling Down Period is divided into two parts, Early Settling Down, where one is trying to establish oneself in a career, a hierarchy and in a family, and Becoming Ones Own Man (Late Settling Down) where there are more intense desires for personal autonomy, authority and affirmation by society. In some ways we can see indications of that second period in Jung after his America trip (age 34). Yet there are reasons for asserting that it had not yet started. There is no indication in the correspondence that the relationship became more distant or strained until sometime in 1911 to 1912. Likewise in the realm of marriage and family there are no signs of major change until well into 1911.

I suggest that it is useful to see two major sets of forces at work here. One set is the developmental forces that cause the shift in the life structure around the age of 36. The other set are those specific forces in the environment that call forth an adaptational response. The prolonged contact with Freud in 1909 called forth certain responses, pushing Jung away. However, he did not really move towards "becoming his own man" in the full blown form until the developmental forces were added to the situation. The reader should keep the above in mind as they consider the events from



Jung's 34th through 36th years.

### Early Settling Down - Part II

On the home front, the Jungs were settling into their newly constructed home (completed in June) on the Lake of Zurich in the town of Kusnacht. Emma was currently undergoing analysis, with Carl as her analyst. What that situation was like is hard to imagine (other than awkward). Yet it demonstrates Emma's desire to both keep up with Carl and to keep her mind active (despite the growing load of children). Jung in this past year had had a number of troubles with women patients becoming infatuated with him, most notably a Dr. Sabina Spielrein, who became a member of the psychoanalytic movement. She had even claimed to Freud that she was Jung's mistress. Jung denied this and Freud did not believe it.<sup>29</sup> But it indicated to Freud and Jung that Jung was not handling the transference issues entirely well. This year in the correspondence Jung mentioned his tendency towards "polygamy". Though he did not admit to infidelity yet, he was restless within the marriage. He stated that he had come to grips with this tendency and that his relationship with his wife was all the more deep for having conquered the tendency (March 7, 1909). In two years that was to go by the wayside, but that is jumping ahead.

On the professional front Jung was busy with his patients, with teaching analysis, and with editing the new Jahrbuch. He had recently acquired a student-patient in the person of Johann J. Honneger, a physician with an interest in





psychiatry and psychoanalysis. He had consulted Jung as a patient for a "loss of reality sensing lasting a few days" which Jung saw as incipient dementia praecox which Jung hoped would be controlled by analysis. He became a friend and protegee of Jung. In 1910 the two made plans to form a partnership. It was cut short in 1911 by Honn ger's sudden suicide in the face of an impending psychotic break.

On the intellectual front Jung was poring through all sorts of sources on mythology starting with the massive Symbolik and Mythologie der alten Volker by Friedrich Creuzer (Symbology and Mythology of Ancient Peoples) moving on to Herodotus' histories, through certain Gnostic works and onward (the complete bibliography was to be some thirty pages long in the revised edition). In addition to these sorts of texts, Jung studied a set of "mythologic fantasies" by a woman, later diagnosed as schizophrenic, who is referred to as "Frank Miller". The analysis of these fantasies helped provide the bridge from the mythologic to the psychologic that became the keynote of Jung's later work. At that time Freud fully approved of Jung's work. In this early stage of the work he found conformation for Freud's theories of psychosexuality everywhere he looked (that is within his research).

#### The International Psychoanalytic Society

On the horizon loomed the upcoming internation congress to be held in Nuremberg in March of 1910. Jung drove Freud to distrction when, in the middle of planning, he took off



to America (a former patient of his was seriously ill and the cause was possibly psychogenic so off he went). Freud worried (prematurely) about what he would do "if his Zurichers were to desert him".<sup>30</sup> But Emma wrote to Freud telling him of the circumstances, saying that Carl would return in time and that she and Franz Riklin and Johann Honneger were pitching in on Jung's various responsibilities.<sup>31</sup>

Of this Congress Freud was to say, "There is no doubt it was a great success."<sup>32</sup> But it was a stormy one as well. On Freud's behest, Ferenczi proposed the formation of the International Psychoanalytic Association, which was all well and good. But he proposed that the only logical center for it was in Zurich and its logical president, Jung. This was of course exactly in accord with Freud's wishes, but was stated somewhat undiplomatically vis a vis Freud's long time supporters in Vienna. There was rebellion fomented by Wilhelm Stekel and Alfred Adler, but with the support of many of the Viennese contingent. The Viennese had some cause for complaint. Freud had grown more and more estranged from them (saving Otto Rank and a few others). Before the Congress he had written to Karl Abraham on February 24, "I no longer get any pleasure from the Viennese. I have a heavy cross to bear with the older generation, Stekel, Adler, Sadger..."<sup>32</sup> Freud not only set forward Jung as president (through Ferenczi) but wanted him to be named lifetime president and with the power of veto over psychoanalytic papers. The Viennese had a secret meeting led by Stekel. In the middle as mutiny was coming to a boil Freud entered the room. From Stekel's



account: "He was greatly excited and tried to persuade us to accept Ferenczi's motion; he predicted hard times and a strong opposition by official science. .He grasped his coat and cried: "They begrudge me the coat I am wearing; I don't know whether in the future I will earn my daily bread" Tears were streaming down his cheeks. "An official psychiatrist and a gentile must be the leader of the movement, he said. He foresaw a growing anti-semitism."<sup>33</sup>

A compromise was reached. Jung was elected president for a two year term. He retained editorship of the Jahrbuch, but a rival monthly publication was to be founded, the Zentralblatt fur Psychoanalyse, under the joint editorship of Adler and Stekel. Moreover Freud resigned as head of the Vienna Society and Adler was to take his place as president.

With these acts Freud was trying to ensure that his creation would survive him. As he said in the correspondence, Jung was to safeguard his movement and certain ideas of his within the movement. At the Congress itself he said to Jung, "My dear Jung, promise me never to abandon the sexual theory. That is the most essential thing of all. You see, we must make a dogma of it, an unshakeable bulwark." He said that with great emotion, in the tone of a father saying, "And promise me this one thing my dear son: that you will go to church every Sunday." "In some astonishment I asked him, "A bulwark--against what?" "Against the black tide of mud"--and here he hesitated a moment, then added--"of occultism."<sup>34</sup>

Despite the compromises at the Nuremberg Congress, relations within the movement became more complicated.



Adler and Stekel moved to progressively more independent positions both intellectually and within the politics of the movement. Adler was to start to develop his theories of the power drive, and inferiority-superiority complexes. Within a year he was to be pushed out of the movement by Freud (Stekel was in and out for a while, he did not leave permanently until late 1912).

Earlier in the year (January 30) Jung wrote to Freud about certain troubles with his wife, saying that he had been needlessly jealous. He discussed his wife's analysis: "At first my objectivity got out of joint (rule one of psychoanalysis: principles of Freudian psychology apply to everyone except the analyzer) but afterwards snapped back again, whereupon my wife also straightened herself out brilliantly. Analysis of one's spouse is one of the more difficult things unless mutual freedom is assured. The prerequisite for a good marriage, it seems to me, is the license to be unfaithful."

This is a relatively new belief for Jung. It is not clear whether he had yet acted on it. However, during 1910 Jung took on as a patient Antonia Wolf (1888-1952). She was the daughter of a rich Zurich businessman, recently deceased at that time, and was an offspring of an old Zurich family, on both sides. Yet her appearance was dark and exotic. Some of Jung's followers were later to say she seemed "Korean" in appearance<sup>35</sup> (remember the maid during Jung's childhood with the dark and exotic appearance). During the course of 1910 she became a follower of psychoanalysis (which recruited from its patients). Sometime in 1911 she and Jung started





an affair. The specific time of this change in the relationship is not known, at least by the general public.

Also during that year there is a shift in Jung's work on mythology; he enters into areas and into ideas that are divergent from Freud's. The specific date is not known but there are indications in the correspondence for both of these happenings. I interpret these as signs of a shift in Jung's life structure and the start of the Becoming Ones Own Man period. The specific letter that I find indicative of these changes is Jung's letter to Freud on January 11, 1911. It will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### Review of Early Settling Down

The start of this period was marked when Jung made the decision to embrace Freud's cause. The mentor-protege relationship built gradually during 1906 in their correspondence and was sealed during their first actual meeting in March of 1907. The early correspondence can be seen as a negotiation process as Jung tries to figure out where and how much he differs from Freud's intellectual positions and how much leeway Freud will allow. This centers on the issue of psychosexuality. Jung agrees to (in Freud's words) "trust him" until his own experience can fill in. It remained a particularly dynamic and complicated relationship.

Jung then sets out to climb the professional ladder within psychoanalysis while he draws back increasingly from his other professional commitments. This coincides with the period of organization building in the psychoanalytic movement.



Jung experiences competition in the movement from other followers of Freud particularly Karl Abraham. Jung is awarded over the years more positions. He is acknowledged "Crown Prince" of the movement by Freud.

There was a shift in the relationship after the 1909 trip to America. Jung felt more distant from Freud and started out on a new project, the analysis of mythological and religious symbols. This was to become his Culminating Event. However, there is no reflection of this "distance" in the correspondence and in 1910 Jung is elected president of the new International Psychoanalytic Society. His work until 1911 was basically acceptable in Freud's eyes. Jung's interest in the occult was a source of some discomfiture for Freud, but he came to accept it between 1909 and 1911 due to Jung's and Ferenczi's efforts.

In the realm of the family, Jung tried to settle into a structure. There were some social tensions particularly on money matters and on an appropriate social and intellectual role for her. She became interested in psychoanalysis and Jung became her analyst. They raised children. Jung felt tensions about certain polygamous tendencies, and his wife exhibited jealousy about Jung's attractiveness to women. During this period he seemed to remain essentially monogamous, but with difficulty.

The period came to a close during late 1910-1911 when Jung started to change his intellectual allegiances and beliefs away from Freudian tenets and when he changed his sexual life to include affairs, particularly with one Antonia Wolff (age 35-36).



Early Late Settling Down

This second part of the Settling Down Period is set apart from the earlier period in Jung's life by certain changes in a few of his life structure components. The most notable are his shift in certain theoretical beliefs that entailed a shift in his relationship with his mentor, Freud, and the shift in his marital-sexual relationships from monogamy to a two woman polygamy. Both were shifts towards fulfilling personal needs or wishes in contrast to the former conforming with outer demands. They are therefore in keeping with the theme of this time within Levinsonian theory.

Once again we have the problem of ascertaining the onset of the new period, when was the confirmation present in its full form? Jung believed that once he had clearly reached certain conclusions in his work and once Freud knew of these conclusions the relationship changed abruptly. Likewise once Jung had established an enduring relationship with Toni Wolff we can say that his life structure is definitely in a different conformation than the previous period. The problem of the intermediate state is further complicated here by the lack of precision of knowing exactly when those two definitive points were reached. The tack that I will take is to present the evidence for the dating of the two major changes above, and leave the question of intermediate or transition states unanswered because of insufficient data on the day-to-day changes in these "life structure components."



We know from Jung's memoirs that, "when I was sorking on my book about the libido and approaching the end of the chapter "The Sacrifice", I knew in advance that its publication would cost me my friendship with Freud. For I planned to set down my own conception of libido, and various other ideas in which I differed from Freud. To me incest signified a personal complication only in the rarest cases. Usually incest has a highly religious aspect, for which reason the incest theme plays a decisive part in almost all cosmogonies and in numerous myths. But Freud clung to the literal interpretation of it and could not grasp the spiritual significance of incest as a symbol. I knew that he would never be able to accept any of my ideas on the subject.

I spoke with my wife about this, and told her of my fears. She attempted to reassure me, for she thought that Freud would magnanimously raise no objections, although he might not accept my views. I myself was convinced that he could not do so. For two months I was unable to touch my pen, so tormented was I by the conflict. At last I resolved to go ahead with the writing--and it did indeed cost me Freud's friendship."<sup>1</sup>

So one can monitor the Freud-Jung correspondence for mention of new theoretical material, writing blocks, and mention of new marital troubles. The first indication is in the January 11, 1911 letter from Jung to Freud. It contains oblique references to both budding changes:

"My paper is now in the process of being copied out (part 1 of Wandlungen). It grows and grows. After seeing a





performance of Faust yesterday...I feel more confident of its value.. As the whole thing sprang into life before my eyes, all kinds of thoughts came to me, and I felt sure that my respected great-grandfather would have given my work his placet, the more willingly as he would have noted with a smile that the great-grandchild has continued and even extended the ancestral line of thought. But it is a risky business for an egg to try to be smarter than the hen. Still, what is in the egg must eventually summon the courage to creep out. So you see what fantasies I must resort to in order to protect myself against your criticism...

My family is well, and so am I. I am exercising my libido in various ways and testing out the modicum of stupidity that I must allow myself."<sup>4</sup>

From the news in this letter we know that Jung has not yet reached that point where he "could not pick up his pen" for two months. Yet looking back with 20-20 hindsight see how directly he is stating that he has reached a point of breaking out, away from the father figure (he says it's Goethe, but he even admits that he is hiding from Freud's criticism). Moreover, the conjunction of "breaking out of the shell" and Goethe's Faust, symbols to Jung of the conjunction of the mystic and scientific interests, heightens the suspicion that Jung has entered his Becoming His Own Man period. The sentence at the end about testing out his libido, I find suspicious vis a vis Toni Wolff, without yet being truly "incriminating".



There is a slightly defensive reply from Freud, "I don't know why you are so afraid of my criticism in matters of mythology." In following the correspondence, one knows one is on to something, if there is a defensive "ickup" from the other party.

On February 28 there is a brief sentence from Jung, "Last Sunday..was clouded by a mighty hangover from the carnival. It was a propitiatory offering to the chthonic gods not to disturb my work" In March he writes: "I have been analyzing a Dem. preae, case, which has yielded very strang fruits; I am trying to make them comprehensible to myself by a parallel investigation of incestuous fantasy in relation to "creative" fantasy. Once my thoughts have matured I must seek your advice. I am still brooding on it." By now Jung is somewhat along his divergent path.

The subject disappears for a while. Jung's assistant, Honneger, committed suicide nn March 28. As was mentioned before, he had feared a psychotic break. Jung comments on "how wasteful children are, even with their own precious, irreplaceable lives." But then he agrees that suicide is better than the "Moloch of neurosis and psychosis." "He did it well, without fuss, no sentimentalities like letters, etc....There was a touch of grandeur about the manner of his going."<sup>2</sup> Freud, in turn, sympathized with Jung's loss but added, "Do you know, I think we wear out quite a few men."<sup>3</sup>

I mention the incident because it reveals certain opinions that Jung had on insanity and suicide. It also



raises questions about mentor-protege relations. It probably had symbolic undertones for Jung and Freud in their relationship. Jung, in later letters, talks about what he missed in dealing with Honneger's "case" and how the suicide might have been prevented. He does not specifically acknowledge guilt but it can be surmised that he felt some guilt (and Freud's response suggests that Jung may have been "too hard" on Honneger). There is not enough information to take this further, but I could add that Erikson's "generativity" period comes later. This time is not generally suited to helping other colleagues grow; it is more a time of fulfilling one's own goals. On the other hand in the early days of psychoanalysis when there was such a mixing of roles (boss, colleague, analyst, role model) it is easy to understand situations becoming very tangled and difficult, both to understand and deal with.

The subject of Jung's work resurfaces in July. It is mentioned briefly and the subject quickly turns to money making. It appears that at this time Jung has "a feeling of inferiority" both in comparison to Freud and (probably) in relation to his wife's wealth.<sup>5</sup> It is not a topic discussed much until now. It can be viewed as an expression of the time, to be self-sufficient, to be a figure in one's own right with one's own achievements.

However, in August when plans were being made for the September Congress in Weimar and for a visit from Freud to Zurich, Freud dropped a bomb in the form of a hint. Jung did not understand it completely but Freud in his next letter



explained that he was entering the field of psychology of religion.\* This was to become his Totem and Taboo (1913). I do not believe that it was merely a coincidence that Freud picked that particular time to study that particular field. With hindsight one can see that Jung's studies and his conclusions came to be threatening to Freud and that Freud's starting this work in 1911 was both a competitive gesture and a warning that he too was going to formulate ideas and establish expertise in the field, and Jung should watch his step. In some ways he was covering his "tail" in establishing a foothold in the field, anticipating future debates over what Jung had found. In September he wrote, "So you too are aware that the Oedipus complex is at the root of religious feeling. Bravo!"<sup>6</sup> This is a bizarre statement. It sounds like Freud was trying to establish priority for the conception when Jung had long since formulated that notion. The subject of priority over a conception was a difficult and recurring issue for Freud. Freud may also have been trying to insure that Jung's conceptions went in a certain direction.

Freud visited with the Jungs from 16-20 of September; it was overtly uneventful. The Jungs travelled to the Weimar Congress with Freud. The Congress was successful and relatively calm. Along with them was Antonia Wolff, first described in the correspondence in August as "a remarkable intellect with an excellent feeling for religion and philosophy".





## The Emma Jung - Freud Correspondence

We learn more of both her effects (albeit in an indirect manner and of the covert Freud-Jung tensions from the Emma Jung-Freud correspondence that started up while Jung was away on reserve duty late in October. From the first letter:

I don't really know how I am summoning the courage to write you this letter, but am certain it is not from presumption; rather I am following the voice of my unconscious, which I have so often found was right and which I hope will not lead me astray this time.

Since your visit I have been tormented by the idea that your relationship with my husband is not altogether as it should be, and since it definitely ought not to be like this I want to try to do whatever is in my power. I do not know whether I am deceiving myself when I think you are somehow not quite in agreement with "Transformations of Libido". You didn't speak of it at all and yet I think it would do you both so much good if you got down to a thorough discussion of it. Or is it something else? If so please tell me what, dear herr Professor; for I cannot bear to see you so resigned...

My husband naturally knows nothing of this letter and I beg you not to hold him responsible for it or to let any kind of unpleasant effects it may have on you glance off on him.

I hope nevertheless that you will not be angry with your very admiring

Emma Jung" (reply is not available to the public)<sup>7</sup>



November 6

My dear Professor Freud

Your nice kind letter has relieved me of anxious doubts, for I was afraid that in the end I had done something stupid...If I talked about "symbols", it was chiefly because I knew how eagerly Carl was waiting for your opinion; he had often said he was sure you would not approve of it, and for that reason was awaiting your verdict with some trepidation. Of course this was only a residue of the father (or mother) complex which is probably being resolved in this book; for actually Carl, if he holds something to be right, would have no need to worry about anybody else's opinion...(She then goes on to discuss how Freud said his marriage was amortised and now there was nothing left to do but die. Emma then proceeded to analyze Freud (!)--in a most kindly and loving way, of course.)..You may imagine how overjoyed and honoured I am by the confidence you have in Carl, but it almost seems to me as though you were sometimes giving too much--do you not see in him the follower and fulfiller more than you need? Doesn't one often give much because one wants to keep much?

Why are you thinking of giving up already instead of enjoying your well-earned fame and success? ...No, you should rejoice and drink to the full the happiness of victory after having struggled for so long. And do not think of Carl with a father's feeling: He will grow, but I must dwindle. "but rather as one human being thinks of another, who like you has his own law to fulfill. (underlining mine)



Don't be angry with me..."

November 14"

You were really annoyed by my letter, weren't you?...

Lately Carl has been analysing his attitude to his work and has discovered some resistances to it. I had connected these misgivings about Part II with his constant worry over what you would say about it, etc. It seemed out of the question that he could have resistances to his own work; but now it appears that this fear of your opinion was only a pretext for not going on with the self analysis which this work in fact means...

Please write nothing of this to Carl; things are going badly enough with me as is..." (underlining is mine)

November 24:

Heartfelt thanks for your letter. I am not always as despondent as I was in my last letter...Usually I am quite at one with my fate and see very well how lucky I am, but from time to time I am tormented by the conflict about how I can hold my own against Carl. I find I have no friends, all the people associate with us really only want to see Carl, except for a few boring and to me quite uninteresting persons.

Naturally the women are all in love with him, (underlining is mine) and with the men I am instantly cordoned off as the wife of the father or friend. Yet I have a strong need for people and Carl too says I should stop concentrating on him and the children, but what on earth am I to do? What with my strong tendency to autoerotism it is very difficult, but



objectively it is difficult because I can never compete with Carl. In order to emphasize this I usually have to talk extra stupidly when in company..."

These letters provide an extraordinary view into the underground of events hinted at in the Freud-Jung correspondence and mentioned briefly from a distance of fifty years in Memories, Dreams, Reflections. They are full of personality: one can almost hear and see the person behind the correspondence. She obviously was both bright and intuitive. It's interesting the way she talks of trusting her unconscious. One may wonder whether that is her own way of thinking or whether she had picked it up from Carl. It is a very Jungian notion of the positive power of the unconscious and it is ironic to see it used on Freud. It hints at the distance, intellectually speaking, from the Freudian way of thinking, whether this was a new development in the family or an ongoing difference.

Emma tells us of her social situation, her isolation and entrapment within a role. She wants to grow, to be active intellectually, yet her outlets are limited and her parental duties are already quite consuming (and she was to have yet another child). One senses that Jung wishes to withdraw from her and her needs and answer his own. She wishes to support him and to fulfill his needs but to be his intellectual companion requires time and effort and teaching upon Jung's part, and he is already withdrawing from her neediness. There is a certain nobility in the way she faced her unhappiness, accepted her fate (as she put it), and she





certainly had and was about to have a lot to put up with. Some have called it masochism. My personal impression of her is of an aware empathetic and bright woman who had the wherewithall to ride out difficulties and competition within the marriage and was awarded with intellectual growth and a profession beyond the reach of most Swiss hausfraus. She also maintained a loving and long lasting, if difficult and trying marriage with one of the brighter and certainly more unusual men in the twentieth century. I do not see masochism so much as discipline and an acceptance of her lot and its necessary costs.

What was her new rival like and why did Carl Jung choose her? As was mentioned before she was not beautiful but she was exotic in appearance and had features of Jung's classic "anima figure". She was said to be hypersensitive, and shy, hidden behind a stern exterior. She was intensely feminine and passionately emotional. She had a very quick mind and a great intelligence; she was highly intuitive. She was an accomplished poetess and Jung considered her the equal of Goethe (not that he was an unbiased judge!). She was particularly compatible and useful to Jung in the coming ten years when he broke with Freud, "confronted his unconscious", and put together his own persona, "analytical psychology".<sup>8</sup>

I would say that there are three major factors involved here. For one thing, Toni did have a quicker mind and was particularly suited to meet certain of Jung's intellectual and emotional needs at this time. Second, Emma was held back not only by innate qualities, her own and Toni's, but



by her family duties which prevented her from doing the intellectual work and having the emotional resources to spare for all of Carl's needs. Third, one can assert that Jung had need of two different figures, a figure fulfilling maternal duties and a woman, like the maid, just for him. To a certain extent he picked women to fill these roles (unconsciously) and to a certain extent he put them into these roles whether they wanted them or not. There are indications that neither of the women accepted these constraints without a battle. Vincent Brome interviewed John Layard who said that there were some bitter quarrels at this time, before Emma bowed to Carl's wishes.<sup>9</sup> Similarly (though at least ten years later) Toni Wolff was to object to the limitations of the role of femme inspritrice and maitresse officiele and pressed Jung for marriage.\* Yet Jung had his way.

The Emma Jung-Freud correspondence also gives a valuable insight into Freud's married life and gives us an approximate date when Jung encountered the difficulties in writing the chapter, "The Sacrifice". Emma was more correct than he in interpreting the reasons for his work difficulties, though he was more right in guessing the ultimate consequences of that work.

### "The Heresy"

In fact shortly after the last letter mentioned above, the dispute started to break out in the Freud-Jung letters. On November 30 Freud questioned Jung about his "extension of the concept of libido to make it applicable to Dem. pr.



"The extension is mentioned in an earlier letter to Freud, but Freud, having received Emma's letter is now quite suspicious. Characteristically Jung keeps him waiting for the next letter. When it finally arrives it says, "The loss of the reality function in D. pr cannot be reduced to repression of libido (defined as sexual hunger). Not by me, at any rate....I have now put together all the thoughts on the libido concept that have come to me over the years, and devoted a chapter to them in my second part. I have got down to a fundamental discussion of the problem and arrived at a solution which I am afraid I cannot discuss in extenso here. The essential point is that I try to replace the descriptive concept of libido by a genetic one...You must let my interpretation work on you as a whole to feel its full impact. Mere fragments are barely intelligible."<sup>10</sup>

The disagreements went underground for a while. The correspondence covered sundry issues with notes here and there of "displaced hostility expressed through others" mentioned here and there. By February Freud is quite put off by Jung's tardiness in answering letters. Freud was compulsive about responding to letters quickly, Jung (even under the best of circumstances) was not. On February 29 Freud writes: "What you say about my resentment of your tendency to neglect our correspondence warrants more thorough psychoanalytic elucidation. There can be no doubt that I was a demanding correspondent...I took myself in hand and quickly turned off my excess libido. I was sorry to do so, yet glad to see how quickly I managed it...Let me assure you of my keen



interest in your libido paper."

Jung's response was quite strong (March 3): "As for the other remarks in your letter, I must own that I have never been able to rid myself of the idea that what I have done and still am doing to promote the spread of psychoanalysis must surely be of far greater moment to you than my personal awkwardness and nastiness...Whenever I had anything important to communicate I have always done so... Or can it be that you mistrust me? Experience has shown you how groundless this is. Of course I have opinions which are not yours about the ultimate truths of psychoanalysis..but you won't, I suppose, take umbrage on that account. I am ready at any time to adapt my opinions to one who knows better, and always have been. I would never have sided with you in the first place had not heresy run in my blood. Since I have no professorial ambitions I can afford to admit mistakes. Let Zarathustra speak for me:

"One repays a teacher badly if one remains only a pupil.

And why then, should you not pluck at my laurels?...

This is what you have taught me through psychoanalysis. As one who is truly your follower, I must be stout-hearted, not least towards you."

Freud replied in a conciliatory, yet defensive manner. He denies that he tried to tyrannize Jung intellectually, though he admits that that is what Adler complained of.<sup>11</sup> The conflict goes underground again though the mention of Adler is symbolically significant. In April, Freud speaks of





the possibility of Bleuler resigning and Jung getting the professorship at Zurich. Interestingly, in light of Jung's earlier Dream, Jung says that he is out of the running. "For I have no intention of giving up my scientific work for the sake of a professorship. Professorships here mean the end of one's scientific development. You cannot be an official in a madhouse and a scientist at the same time. I shall make my own way without a professorship."<sup>12</sup>

Then he lets go with the bombshell: "Like you I am absorbed in the incest problem and have come to conclusions which show incest primarily as a fantasy problem. Originally, morality was simply a ceremony of atonement, a substitutive prohibition, so that the ethnic prohibition of incest may not mean biological incest at all, but merely the utilization of infantile incest material for the construction of the first prohibitions. (I don't know whether I am expressing myself clearly!) If biological incest were meant, then father-daughter incest would have fallen under the prohibition much more readily than that between son-in-law and mother-in-law. The tremendous role of the mother in mythology has a significance far outweighing the biological incest problem--a significance that amounts to pure fantasy."

Correspondence goes back and forth clarifying and re-clarifying the obscure formulation above. Much of the thought involves speculation on the ancient primitive societies, their structure and how this affected the religions and taboos that they formulated. Jung suggested that since



some early societies were matriarchal, the father's role would have been minimal therefore incest laws against the son (protecting father right) would not have been important for its own sake. Incest laws therefore must have arisen for other reasons, reasons that Jung believed were "religious". He attempted another clarification in the May 17 letter: "the large amount of free-floating anxiety in primitive man, which led to the creation of taboo ceremonies in the widest sense (totem, etc.), produced among other things the incest taboo as well (or rather: the mother and father taboo). The incest taboo does not correspond with the specific value of incest "sensu strictiori" any more than the sacredness of the totem corresponds with its biological value. From this standpoint we must say that incest is forbidden not because it is desired but because the free-floating anxiety regressively reactivates infantile material and turns it into a ceremony of atonement (as though incest had been, or might have been desired). Psychologically the incest prohibition doesn't have the significance which one must ascribe to it if one assumes the existence of a particularly strong incest wish...In my opinion the incest barrier can no more be explained by reduction to the possibility of real incest than the animal cult can be explained by reduction to real bestialty. The animal cult is explained by an infinitely long psychological development which is of paramount importance and not by primitive bestial tendencies--these are nothing



but the quarry that provides the material for building a temple."

Freuds response illuminates the underlying conflict;

"In the libido question I finally see at what point your conception differs from mine. (I am referring of course to incest, but I am thinking of your heralded modifications in the concept of the libido.) What I still fail to understand is why you have abandoned the older view and what other origin and motivation the prohibition of incest can have...I value your letter fro the warning it contains, and the reminder of my first big error, when I mistook fantasies for realities (dealing with incest fantasies, back in his work in the 1890's).

But if we now set reason aside and attune the machine to pleasure, I own to a strong antipathy towards your innovation (underlining is mine). It has two sources. First, the regressive character of the innovation. I believe we have held up to now that anxiety originated in the prohibition of incest; now you say on the contrary that the prohibition of incest originated in anxiety, which is very similar to what was said before the days of psychoanalysis.

Secondly, because of a disastrous similarity to a theorem of Adler's, though of course I do not condemn all Adler's inventions."<sup>13</sup>

We are at the crux of the matter, the issue that was to break up the Freud-Jung friendship, so the matter deserves some explication. Some aspects of the issue are arcane, they



require that we ressurect the intellectual mindset of that particular time in intellectual history. Still other aspects can be understood when placed in the context of their creators' lives and work.

Both Freud and Jung are carrying out their arguments within the field of what can be called speculative-historical anthropology. They are trying to deduce what the conditions were in that ancient, primitive, or primordial society when the rules of culture were invented. Much of this work amounts to a "gedanken" or thought experiment. While some historical and anthropological work is consulted (Freud, for example, counters Jung's matriarchy conception by saying that there was evidence for matrilineal descent but not for gynocracy), both the lack of hard evidence in those fields at that time, and Jung's and Freud's lack of expertise in those fields limited the empirical base of these speculations. It is not clear that one can realistically conceive of humans all of a sudden getting together and inventing culture. Yet this method of conceiving what might have gone into the harnessing of instinct by culture had a usefulness in delineating the developmental forces in modern man. (This is a psychoanalytic counterpart of the notion that ontogeny repeats phylogeny.) Yet these were gedanken experiments and therefore particularly prey to reationalization of beliefs acquired elsewhere.

Remember that Freud's theories were incubated and hatched in the 1880's and 1890's. He had been trained in the





mechanist school of thought. He "discovered" the unconscious and the power of the sexual drives in his clinical work. He then applied it to himself during his self analysis in his forties crisis. Psychosexuality was important to him because he wanted a unified mechanistic theory that explained the phenomena of the psyche. Psychosexuality in the form of the libido provided the analogue of energy within his system. His theory gained even more power for and over him because it provided order and understanding of himself during the troubled times of his midlife crisis. Furthermore he had achieved eminence through the development of his theories and founded an entire movement to propagate these theories. In the correspondence he, himself, acknowledges the emotional force behind his displeasure.

What did "Wandlungen" and the new theories of the libido mean to Jung? It is my opinion that this work (particularly Part II) represents the Culminating Event in Jung's Early Adulthood Era. This work took up much of his effort in the later Settling Down years. It was in an area of converging personal interests and in this work Jung grew away from Freud, became His Own Man, intellectually speaking.

In doing his massive research in mythology and symbology Jung made parallel discoveries in the realm of ancient symbology, the symbology of the fantasies of certain dementia praecox patients and in the symbology of his own fantasies, visions, and dreams. It was during the time of this research that the memories of his childhood visions, rituals, and inner



mental life started to bubble up into consciousness (for in his memoirs he states that he had forgotten many of these early experiences until he reached the age of 35 or so). The similarity in the symbology from the three different areas synthesized with the metaphor of his house dream (on the ship in 1909, see the previous chapter) to produce what was to become Jung's conception of the collective unconscious, a deeper level of the unconscious in which ancient and shared modes of experience and symbolizing reside. This concept (actually formulated after the first edition of *Wandlungen* was published) was based on Jung's personal experiences and on the similarity of symbols and processes that he saw in his research from 1901-1912.

In examining the material from these three areas (patients' accounts, mythology, his own experiences), Jung came to differ from the Freudian position. While he maintained the usefulness of the concept of the libido, a psychic analogue for energy (that which does work, causes changes, movement, etc. within the psyche) he came to feel that sexuality was not the only force within the libido. To some extent we can attribute Jung's different conclusions to his patient population,<sup>14</sup> which consisted of schizophrenics as opposed to Freud's patient population of neurotics, hysterics, etc. Yet still more important than that was Jung's personal experiences. Jung had a talent for mystical experiences, experiences that Freud did not have and which he distrusted. Jung experienced the power of psychic forces and processes which



he felt to be of a nonsexual nature. Thus he was more disposed to see non "psychosexual" forces behind the symbology of patients and of religious and mythologic symbols. This divergence crystalized as the work progressed and as in other areas Jung moved toward answering his own particular needs.

I believe that the above findings were then couched in the terms of the "gedanken experiments" on the beginnings of culture. Unfortunately, this tends to obscure the crucial differences with Freud, at least to readers in the latter half of the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup>

What did this lead to? From Jung, the correspondence with Freud, and from Emma's letters we know that Jung did not set out to leave the Freudian fold, though he feared that this would be a consequence. He "grew", he "developed" away from some of the Freudian dogma. He did not wish these intellectual differences to end his friendship with Freud. Yet Freud did not immediately say "Heretic, though are excommunicated!" There was a jockeying, a give and take, that led to the final break. Sometimes Jung jumped the gun anticipating a certain reaction from Freud. Sometimes Freud's opposition was not expressed directly but by indirection, implication, or through surrogates. One should not think that Freud consciously set out to drive Jung from him once Jung had reached his heretical conclusions (though after a certain point, when the friendship had ended, he did seek to drive Jung from the Psychoanalytic Movement and through a variety of means). We see here the working through of tensions



in a fatally flawed mentoring relationship, with both parties participating. However, remembering Freud's track record (see Freud chapter), I believe that the center of causation of the relationship's "ungraceful" end ultimately lay with Freud. Readers may, of course, disagree.

### The Kreuzlingen Gesture and the End of the Friendship

In June Jung responded to Freud's May 23 (strong antipathy) letter. "I am grieved to see what powerful affects you have mobilized for your counter-offensive against my suggestions. Since I think I have objective reasons on my side, I am forced to stand by my interpretation of the incest concept, and see no way out of the dilemma...The parallel with Adler is a bitter pill; I swallow it without a murmur. Evidently this is my fate. There is nothing to be done about it, for my reasons are overwhelming. I set out with the idea of corroborating the old view of incest, but was obliged to see that things are different from what I expected.."

The fact that you felt no need to see me during your visit to Kreuzlingen must, I suppose, be attributed to your displeasure at my development of the libido theory. I hope we shall be able to come to an understanding on controversial points later on. It seems I shall have to go my own way for some time to come. But you know how obstinate we Swiss are..."

In the history of the Freud and Jung movements this became famous as the Kreuzlingen gesture. Ludwig Binsanger





had just been operated on for cancer. Freud went to Lake Constance in Switzerland to pay him a call. Freud notified Jung that he was going to Kreuzlingen. Jung believed that the fact that Freud did not trouble to travel the distance from Kreuzlingen to Zurich was an affront. In Freud's next letter, Freud explained that Jung would have been welcome if he had wished to visit in Kreuzlingen, "I should have been pleased if you yourself had thought of it."<sup>16</sup> There were obviously ambivalent and ambiguous gestures on both sides. Jung responded curtly to Freud's explanation saying: "I understand the Kreuzlingen gesture. I have always kept my distance, and this will guard against any imi- of Adler's disloyalty." (18 July).

Jung then went off to the reserves and then headed for America to deliver a series of lectures at Fordham University on psychoanalysis. He had made arrangements for a conference of leaders of the International Psychoanalytic Society in Munich in November to discuss organizational matters, particularly concerning Stekel (who though persona non grata, was holding on to editorship of the Zentralblatt), and his own status as president as it related to "deviations". Jung's lectures set forth his ideas on the important concepts of psychoanalysis. It was enthusiastically received (but not by Freud when he received a report on them). While he was away, Part II of Wandlungen was printed (to be published in the Jahrbuch). During this same time the plans for forming the secret committee were laid down (see Freud chapter).



Upon Jung's return in November he sent a letter to Freud, reiterating his wish to continue their associations if Freud can accept their differences. But 'your Kreuzlingen gesture has dealt me a lasting wound. I prefer direct confrontation. Obviously I would prefer to be on friendly terms with you, to whom I owe so much, but I want your objective judgement and no feelings of resentment. I think I deserve this much if only for reasons of expediency; I have done more to promote the psychoanalytic movement than Rank, Stekel, Adler, etc. put together. I can only assure you that there is no resistance on my side, unless it be my refusal to be treated like a fool riddled with complexes. I think I have objective reasons for my views."<sup>17</sup>

Freud's response showed a change in salutation (Dear Dr. Jung), "but still with considerable sympathy, interest, and satisfaction at your personal success."<sup>18</sup> They met in Munich during the conference and in a long walk, "swept away a number of unnecessary personal irritations".<sup>19</sup> Freud had a second fainting episode, though, when Jung disagreed with Karl Abraham about Ikhnaton, pharoah of ancient Egypt. Abraham asserted that Ikhnaton had hated his father and destroyed his cartouches on the steles, "and that at the back of his great creation of a monotheistic religion there lurked a father complex." Jung disagreed saying that he had merely eradicated all references to the old God, Amon. Freud then dropped to the floor in a faint. Jung carried him to his hotel room. "A I was carrying him, he half came to, and



I shall never forget the look he cast at me. In his weakness he looked at me as if I were his father."

Despite the reconciliation, the conflict came to a head the next month. Jung sent a friendly letter on November 26. Freud replied, "Many thanks for your friendly letter." He explains away the fainting attack as migraine plus a psychic factor.."a bit of neurosis that I really ought to look into..." Then there is a small bomb, "I now believe that in it (Wandlungen) you have brought us a great revelation, though not the one that you intended. You seem to have solved the riddle of all mysticism, showing it to be based on the symbolic utilization of complexes that have outlived their function."<sup>20</sup>

On December 3 Jung replied: "This letter is a brazen attempt to accustom you to my style. So look out!...My very best thanks for one passage in your letter, where you speak of a bit of neurosis "you haven't got rid of"...If these blinkers were removed you would, I am sure, see my work in a very different light. As evidence that you--if I may be permitted so disrespectful an expression--underestimate my work by a very wide margin, I would cite your remark that "without intending it etc."

My dear professor, forgive me again, but this sentence shows me that you deprive yourself of the possibility of understanding my work by your very underestimation of it. You speak of this insight as though it were some kind of pinnacle, whereas actually it is at the very bottom of the



mountain. This insight has been self-evident to us for years. Again, please excuse my frankness. It is only occasionally that I am afflicted with the purely human desire to be understood intellectually and not be measured by the yardstick of neurosis...I am writing you now as I would to a friend--this is our style, therefore, I hope you will not be offended by my Helvetic bluntness. One thing I beg of you: take these statements as an effort to be honest and do not apply the depreciatory Viennese criterion of egoistic striving for power or heaven knows what other insinuations from the world of the father complex...I am forced to the painful conclusion that the majority of psychoanalysts misuse psychoanalysis for the purpose of devaluing others and their progress by insinuations about complexes."

Freud replied cordially and very coolly suggesting that each pay "more attention to his own than to his neighbor's neurosis." All else was business. Jung then agreed to tone down "his lyre for a while". A few letters later Jung writes: "I see from Furtmuller's forthcoming critique in the Zentralblatt that the Viennese prophets are wrong about a "swing over" to Adler. Even Adler's cronies do not regard me as one of "theirs". However, Jung did not write "theirs" as he intended (ihrigen) he wrote "yours" (ihrigen).<sup>21</sup>

In Freud's reply he said, "The habit of taking objective statements personally is not only a (regressive) human trait but also a very specific Viennese failing. I shall be very glad if such claims are not made on you. But are you





"objective" enough to consider the following slip without anger?"

"Even Adler's cronies do not regard me as one of yours."<sup>22</sup>

Jung did not take it well. "May I say a few words to you in earnest? I admit the ambivalence of my feelings towards you, but am inclined to take an honest and absolutely straightforward view of the situation. If you doubt my word, so much the worse for you. I would, however, point out that your technique of treating your pupils like patients is a blunder. In that way you produce either slavish sons or impudent puppies. I am objective enough to see through your little trick. You go around sniffing out all the symptomatic action in your vicinity, thus reducing everyone to the level of sons and daughters who blushingly admit the existence of their faults. Meanwhile you remain on top as the father, sitting pretty. For sheer obsequiousness nobody dares to pluck the prophet by the beard and inquire.. "Who's got the neurosis?"

"You see, my dear Professor, so long as you hand out this stuff I don't give a damn for my symptomatic actions; they shrink to nothing in comparison with the formidable beam in my brother Freud's eye... I shall continue to stand by you publicly while maintaining my own views, but privately shall start telling you in my letters what I really think of you. I consider this procedure only decent.

No doubt you will be outraged by this peculiar token of friendship, but it may do you good all the same."<sup>23</sup>



Freud wrote two letters in response to this angry communication. The first was written on December 22, right after the letter was received. It contains the phrase, "your reaction seems out of all proportion to the occasion.." It was never sent. Instead Freud wrote a letter on January 3, 1913. The salutation changed again; it read, "Dear Mr. President/ Dear Doctor. ...Your allegation that I treat my followers like patients is demonstrably untrue. Accordingly, I propose that we abandon our personal relations entirely. You will never have reason to complain of any lack of correctness on my part where our common undertaking and the pursuit of scientific aims are concerned.."

So ended the friendship. Jung's professional association with the Psychoanalytic Association tapered over the next year and a half. He still addressed Freud as "Liebe Professor Freud" until November of 1913.

#### Start of the Period of "Introversion"

We are once again at a complicated juncture. The Jungians refer to this as the 'time of introversion' in Jung's life. They date it from 1913-1918 approximately. There are a number of different phases within this period. I believe that we are once again seeing an interaction between developmental and adaptational forces.

As was noted earlier, as the subperiod, Becoming One's Man, started and Jung delved deeper into his "Wandlungen" work, Jung's memories of certain aspects of his youth started



to trickle back. His dream life became more complex. This seepage from the unconscious increased dramatically after Jung's break with Freud in January of 1913. This was in some ways a reaction to this break, for he was thrown onto his own resources. This flow from the unconscious increased still further. Some biographers think of this period as a near-psychotic break, citing the history of mental illness (his paternal great-grandmother) and personality disturbances (various members of the Preiswerk family). This contact with the unconscious became the major preoccupation of Jung's midlife transition and fed his intellectual work for the rest of his life.

Yet can we differentiate Jung's reaction to the break with Freud from his work in the midlife crisis? I believe that there are some indications for setting the onset of the midlife transition proper, about a year after the rupture of the friendship with Freud. However, this break with Freud had similar aspects and effects to the structure-changing needs of the midlife transition. For Freud's action essentially disrupted Jung's life structure. So we can see a "double start" to this period with the early period mirroring in a fainter degree the issues raised more strongly once the midlife crisis starts in earnest. I have chosen as the marker events certain actions of Jung that occurred late in 1913, early 1914 where one gets a sense that the impetus came from inside, as opposed to in reaction to an action of Freud's. Yet conceptually one can easily mark the period as starting



with the January 3 letter from Freud. I will now give a brief account of the happenings in this tail end of the Settling Down period.

From Jung's memoirs, the chapter entitled "Confrontation with the Unconscious": "After the parting of the ways with Freud, a period of inner uncertainty began for me. It would be no exaggeration to call it a state of disorientation. I felt totally suspended in mid-air for I had not yet found my own footing. Above all, I felt it necessary to develop a new attitude toward my patients. I resolved for the present not to bring any theoretical premises to bear upon them. I avoided all theoretical points of view and simply helped the patients to understand the dream images by themselves, without application of rules and theories. Soon I realized that it was right to take the dreams in this way as the basis of interpretation, for that is how dreams are intended.

About this time I experienced a moment of unusual clarity in which I looked back over the way I had traveled so far. I thought, "now you possess a key to mythology and are free to unlock all the gates of the unconscious psyche." But then something whispered within me, "why open all gates?" And promptly the question arose of what, after all, I had accomplished. I had explained the myths of people of the past; I had written a book about the hero, the myth in which man has always lived..But then what is your myth-- the myth in which you do live? "At this point the dialogue with myself became uncomfortable, and I stopped thinking. I had reached a dead end."<sup>24</sup>





In March Jung headed for America. The trip should have been reassuring, for in America Jung's reputation was well established and he was a respected figure. He was constantly called for consultations. He wondered in later years why this support had such a little effect on him.<sup>25</sup> Yet because he had lost his own myth, his own sense of meaning, it is easy to see why he wasn't consoled.

He was troubled by dreams and fantasies of the dead, and the dead returning to life. "I lived as if under constant inner pressure. At times this became so strong that I suspected there was some psychic disturbance in myself. Therefore I twice went over all the details of my entire life, with particular attention to childhood memories; for I thought there might be something in my past which I could not see and which might possibly be the cause of the disturbance. But this retrospection led to nothing but a fresh acknowledgement of my own ignorance. Thereupon I said to myself, "Since I know nothing at all, I shall simply do whatever occurs to me." Thus I consciously submitted to the impulses of the unconscious."<sup>26</sup>

At that point Jung remembered his childhood games of building blocks and constructing houses and castles out of mud. "To my astonishment, this memory was accompanied by a good deal of emotion..there is still life in these things. the small boy is still around, and possesses a creative life which I lack. But how can I make my way to it?" So with a goodly measure of embarrassment Jung returned to his child-



hood occupations. The games relieved his sense of disorientation and released in turn a new flood of fantasies.

The autumn of 1913 brought both internal and external events. Externally Jung had the September Psychoanalytic Congress to organize and run. Needless to say it was tense and heated. Throughout this period Freud has waffled back and forth (as documented in his letters to his other followers) as to whether it was desirable to continue dealing professionally with Jung or to find a way to remove him from the movement. For Jung's part he felt that he would try to work within the movement as long as it was possible. Perhaps this was an indication that he was not ready to sever all ties with his old life. Jung was actually reelected as president of the Society but with a large contingent (Freud's closest circle) abstaining.

There is one account of this meeting. It is from Lou Andreas-Salome, an ardent Freud supporter (and noted mistress to intellectuals and artists of the time). The following account should, therefore, be read with a grain of salt: "At the Congress the Zurich members sat at their own table opposite Freud's. Their behaviour towards Freud can be characterized in a word: it is not so much that Jung diverges from Freud, as that he does it in such a way as if he had taken it on himself to rescue Freud and his cause by these divergences. If Freud takes up the lance to defend himself, it is misconstrued to mean that he cannot show scientific tolerance, is dogmatic and so forth. One glance at the two



of them tells which is the more dogmatic, the more in love with power. Two years ago Jung's booming laughter gave voice to a kind of robust gaiety and exuberant vitality, but now his earnestness is composed of pure aggression, ambition and intellectual brutality."<sup>27</sup>

Shortly after the meeting Freud stepped up his criticisms of Jung, always through intermediates. Finally in October Jung resigned as editor of the Jahrbuch because "It has come to my ears through Dr. Maeder that you doubt my bona fides. I would have expected you to communicate with me directly on so weighty a matter."<sup>28</sup>

On Jung's internal front: "Toward the autumn of 1913 the pressure which I had felt was in me seemed to be moving outward, as though there were something in the air...It was as though the sense of oppression no longer sprang exclusively from a psychic situation, but from concrete reality."<sup>29</sup>

It is my reading of the situation that Jung recovered his sense of balance after the break with Freud, about halfway through the year, then new processes started. There are personal happenings and personal acts that started in this fall and continued through the spring of 1914. I consider these to be the markers of the transition to the "true", developmentally caused Middle Life Crisis and therefore shall discuss them in the next chapter.



## Review of Late Settling Down---Becoming Ones Own Man

(35-38½-39)

This period, the time of greater independence within the structure of Settling Down, was heralded by two major changes in Jung's life. One was the development of certain heretical ideas (concerning nonsexual aspects of libido) in the midst of his work Transformations and Symbols of the Libido (his Culminating Event). The other was his breaking out of monogamy and starting an affair with his pupil, Antonia Wolff.

The period can be divided into three phases. The first was from early 1911 to early 1912, when these changes are first unfolding. The second was from early 1912 to 1913 when Jung and Freud quarrel yet try to reach a modus vivendi for preserving the friendship. The third was from early 1913 to late 1913 when Jung is still professionally connected to Freud, when Jung was disoriented from the changes and attempted to cope with inner and outer difficulties. It came to a close as Jung began to control the "first wave from the unconscious", decided to investigate more deeply these internal sources of disturbance, and took some self-initiated steps at breaking his ties with his life structure of the thirties (age 38½-39).





## The Mid-Life Transition: (38½-44 approx)

(Phase II and III of Period of Introversion)

### Phase I of Mid-Life Transition

The Mid-Life Transition, as you will recall, has three major tasks: to review the previous life structure (and the time on earth in general); to confront the great polarities of life, to confront one's self, one's buried and neglected aspects; and then to make a start at choices and the setting up of a new life structure. It is the bridge between the two major eras of the productive adult life. As was mentioned in the last chapter, Jung began some of this work early, because of the disruption caused by his break with Freud. However, there are indications of a second, more internally caused transition. There are in turn two divisions within this period, with the crossover in 1916 (Jung was 41). The earlier period is mostly defined by task two. The later is more active and bridges between tasks two and three. This is the time of the reawakening of Jung's Number Two personality and its integration into his life structure.

In the time of autumn of 1913 when the "outward moving" force has started within Jung, he had a vision while traveling alone on a train journey: "I was suddenly seized by an overpowering vision: I saw a monstrous flood covering all the northern and low-lying lands between the North Sea and the Alps. When it came up to Switzerland I saw that the mountains grew higher and higher to protect our country. I realized



that a frightful catastrophe was in progress. I saw the mighty yellow waves, the floating rubble of civilization, and the drowned bodies of counted thousands. Then the whole sea turned to blood. This vision lasted about an hour. I was perplexed and nauseated, and ashamed of my weakness.

Two weeks passed; then the vision recurred, under the same conditions, even more vividly than before, and the blood was more emphasized. An inner voice spoke, "Look well; it is wholly real and it will be so. You cannot doubt it." That winter someone asked me what I thought were the political aspects of the world in the near future. I replied that I had no thoughts on the matter, but that I saw rivers of blood.

I asked myself whether these visions pointed to a revolution, but could not really imagine anything of the sort. And so I drew the conclusion that they had to do with me myself, and decided that I was menaced by a psychosis. The idea of war did not occur to me at all."<sup>1</sup>

Jung continued to have these and other apocalyptic dreams and visions until just before the break of World War I. Then they stopped. But in those early months Jung was afraid that he was about to lose his newfound control. In the last days of 1913 and the early months of 1914 Jung took two steps. The one witnessed by the external world was his disengagement from old commitments and affiliations. As was mentioned before, Jung resigned from the Jahrbuch, on the 27th of October, 1913, shortly after his first vision of blood. In April he resigned as president of the International Psychoanalytic Association.



While, by that time Freud wanted Jung out, he did not provoke the action. He had prepared a polemic against Jung with the intention of forcing Jung's hand, but Jung had already resigned when Freud's "bombshell" as he called it in a letter to Abraham, exploded. Shortly after this Jung resigned his post as Lecturer at the University of Zurich. Barbara Hannah recounted his reasons: "...during this time of inner dis-orientation and outer success, Jung decided to withdraw from his lectures at Zurich University. ..He himself said: "It would be unfair to continue teaching young students when my own intellectual situation was nothing but a mass of doubts." He once told me that the last straw which led to this decision was overhearing a conversation between two students when they were all leaving the university after his lecture. One girl said to another, "Did you understand what he was saying today?" "Oh, no, not a word, but he must be right because he is so healthy!"<sup>2</sup>

It is important to establish the limits of Jung's "disturbance". There were indeed periods when Jung feared that he was heading for a psychotic break, yet he never really lost contact with reality. He continued to work, to see patients. (Again from Barbarah Hannah): "Although he withdrew from regular lecturing at the university, he usually accepted invitations, particularly for single lectures, which came to him from outside Zurich University. When his dis-orientation was at its worst and he was seriously reckoning with the possibility of a psychosis, he was asked by the



British Medical Association to give a lecture, "On the Importance of the Unconscious in Psychopathology", at a Congress in Aberdeen at the end of July, 1914. He later said, "In my state of mind just then, with the fears that were pursuing me, it seemed fateful to me that I should have to talk on the importance of the unconscious at such a time."

So it happened that when the First World War broke out, Jung found himself far from home in the north of Scotland. Shocked and horrified at the news as he was, he was completely and for always relieved of his fears about his own sanity, for he then recognized the vision for what it was: a singularly clear premonition of what had now befallen Europe. It must be difficult for younger people, who have lived all their lives during war or in post-war conditions, to realize how completely by surprise the 1914 war took us all."<sup>4</sup>

During the years of "the onslaught of the unconscious" Jung developed techniques of controlling the phenomena. Early on he learned the usefulness of physical and creative activity. I made a beginning by writing down the fantasies which had come to me during my building game. This work took precedence over everything else.<sup>3</sup> There were other methods: "I was frequently so wrought up that I had to do certain yoga exercises in order to hold my emotions in check. But since it was my purpose to know what was going on within myself, I would do these exercises only until I had calmed myself enough to resume my work with the unconscious. As soon as I had the feeling that I was myself again, I abandoned this





restraint upon the emotions and allowed the images and inner voices to speak afresh. The Indian, on the other hand, does yoga exercises in order to obliterate completely the multitude of psychic contents and images."<sup>5</sup>

During this time Jung developed a technique that he was later to introduce into therapy, a technique he later came to call "active imagination". This is a directed fantasy or daydream, where the patient tries to visualize as best they can a particular drama or fantasy and to let it unfold as it will. "In order to grasp the fantasies which were stirring in me 'underground', I knew that I had to let myself plummet down into them, as it were. I felt not only violent resistance to this, but a distinct fear. For I was afraid of losing command of myself and becoming prey to the fantasies--and as a psychiatrist I realized only too well what that meant. After prolonged hesitation, however, I saw there was no way out. I had to take the chance, had to try to gain power over them; for I realized that if I did not do so, I ran the risk of their gaining power over me..."<sup>6</sup>

The first time that Jung attempted to control, to enter his fantasies, was early, at the start of his transition period. "It was during Advent of the year 1913--December 12 to be exact--that I resolved upon the decisive step. I was sitting at my desk once more, thinking over my fears. Then I let myself drop. Suddenly it was as though the ground literally gave way beneath my feet, and I plunged down into dark depths. I would not fend off a feeling of panic. But then,



abruptly, at not too great a depth, I landed on my feet in a soft, sticky mass. I felt great relief, although I was apparently in complete darkness. After a while my eyes grew accustomed to the gloom, which was rather like a deep twilight. Before me was the entrance to a dark cave, in which stood a dwarf with a leathery skin, as if he were mummified. I squeezed past him through the narrow entrance and waded knee deep through icy water to the other end of the cave where, on a projecting rock, I saw a glowing red crystal. I grasped the stone, lifted it, and discovered a hollow underneath. At first I could make out nothing, but then I saw that there was running water. In it a corpse floated by, a youth with blond hair and a wound in the head. He was followed by a gigantic black scarab and then by a red, newborn sun, rising out of the depths of the water. Dazzled by the light, I wanted to replace the stone upon the opening, but then a fluid welled out. It was blood. A thick jet of it leaped up, and I felt nauseated. It seemed to me that the blood continued to spurt for an endurably long time. At last it ceased, and the vision came to an end.

I was stunned by this vision. I realized, of course, that it was a hero and solar myth, a drama of death and renewal, the rebirth symbolized by the Egyptian scarab. At the end, the dawn of the new day should have followed, but instead came that intolerable outpouring of blood--an altogether abnormal phenomenon, so it seemed to me. But then I recalled the vision of blood that I had had in the autumn of that same year, and I abandoned all further attempt to understand."<sup>7</sup>



The vision was followed by an urgent dream: "I was with an unknown, brown-skinned man, a savage, in a lonely, rocky mountain landscape. It was before dawn; the eastern sky was already bright, and the stars fading. Then I heard Siegfried's horn sounding over the mountains and I knew we had to kill him. We were armed with rifles and lay in wait for him on a narrow path over the rocks.

Then Siegfried appeared high up on the crest of the mountain in the first ray of the rising sun. On a chariot made of the bones of the dead he drove at furious speed down the precipitous slope. When he turned a corner, we shot at him, and he plunged down, struck dead.

Filled with disgust and remorse for having destroyed something so great and beautiful, I turned to flee, impelled by the fear that the murder might be discovered. But a tremendous downfall of rain began, and I knew that it would wipe out all traces of the dead. I had escaped the danger of discovery; life could go on, but an unbearable feeling of guilt remained."

The dream had a number of significances to Jung. The first interpretation that came to him was the identification of the German hero, Siegfried, with the German people, warlike astride the chariot made of the bones of the dead. The second was an identification with Siegfried, with the ambitious and idealistic youth whose time had come to an end. Jung himself wrote of the dream. "After the deed I felt an overpowering compassion, as though I myself had been shot."<sup>8</sup> Others have



interpreted the dream to represent the kinning of Sigmund Freud. (Sigmund was the father of Siegfried in German mythology, see Stanley Leavy, 1964.) The dream in its various interpretations stands as an apt marker of a crossroads. It alludes to the conflict that was about to break in the world. It alludes to the relationship that had had come to an end. It alludes to Jung having to abandon his old dreams of glory within academia, and within psychoanalysis, and follow some self-defined internal path. The resignations that followed this dream were made possible by the insights that it contained.

While these two fantasies were given fairly specific dates in the memoirs, much of the happenings recounted in that chapter are not well dated, and there is a fair bit of jumping around. One can get some idea of progression by noting the sophistication of the fantasies and the sophistication of the techniques used to deal with them. These early fantasies are dramas, they have a certain plot, there is no give and take. They also come from a time of great uncertainty when Jung felt they might signal a psychotic break. After the outbreak of World War I Jung felt sure that they were in part caused by outward forces and that he was not in such imminent danger. He felt more free to explore them.

The attitude that Jung evolved was not a simple one. He did not delight in these processes nor did he simply take them as revelation. "One of the greatest difficulties for me lay in dealing with my negative feelings. I was voluntarily submitting myself to emotions of which I could not really





approve, and I was writing down fantasies which often struck me as nonsense, and toward which I had strong resistances. For as long as we do not understand their meaning, such fantasies are a diabolical mixture of the sublime and the ridiculous" (underlining is mine.<sup>9</sup>

Jung evolved a dialectic, or participatory mode of producing fantasies. His means of generating and controlling the fantasies became more adept. "In order to seize hold of the fantasies, I frequently imagined a steep descent. I even made several attempts to get to the very bottom. The first time I reached, as it were, a depth of a thousand feet; the next time I found myself at the edge of a cosmic abyss. It was like a voyage to the moon, or a descent into empty space. First came the image of a crater, and I had the feeling that I was in the land of the dead. The atmosphere was that of the other world. Near the steep slope of a rock I caught sight of two figures, an old man with a white beard and a beautiful young girl. I summoned up my courage and approached them as though they were real people, and listened attentively to what they told me. The old man explained that he was Elijah, and that gave me a shock. But the girl staggered me even more, for she called herself Salome! She was blind. What a strange couple: Salome and Elijah. But Elijah assured me that he and Salome had belonged together from all eternity, which completely astounded me. They had a black serpent living with them which displayed unmistakeable fondness for me. I struck close to Elijah because he seemed to be the most



reasonable of the three, and to have a clear intelligence. Of Salome I was distinctly suspicious. Elijah and I had a long conversation which, however, I did not understand."

Jung provided an analysis of the "meaning" of the figures. Elijah represented an internal source of superior insight, the "old man" (see the Gymnasium chapter); Salome was the anima, internal representation of the feminine element, also the erotic. So logos and eros were personified in these individuals. The coupling also had parallels in Gnostic tradition--the old sage and the young woman. (Stanley Leavy suggests that the figure of Freud can be discerned within the old Jewish prophet, and Salome can be said to stand for Lou Andreas-Salome who was at Freud's side when Jung last saw them in September, 1913.<sup>10</sup> The snake was indicative of a hero myth (for some reason Jung found that hero myths often come supplied with friendly snake figures). What is most unusual and significant about these figures is the quality of their existence. Jung could carry on conversations with them. They also had a tendency to develop, to metamorphose. Elijah changed over time into another figure called Philemon. He was a pagan "and brought with him an Egyptian-Hellenistic atmosphere with a Gnostic coloration". He first appeared in a dream but then became a regular visitor, as it were. He was "an old man with the horns of a bull. He held a bunch of four keys...He had the wings of the kingfisher with its characteristic colors." (Interestingly enough, a few days after Philemon's first appearance Jung found a dead kingfisher



in his garden, kingfishers being extremely rare in Zurich.)

"Philemon and other figures of my fantasies brought home to me the crucial insight that there are things in the psyche which I do not produce, but which produce themselves and have their own life. Philemon represented a force that was not myself. In my fantasies I held conversations with him, and he said things which I had not consciously thought...He said I treated thoughts as if I generated them myself, but in his view thoughts were like animals in the forest, or people in a room or birds in the air, and added, "If you should see people in a room, you would not think that you had made those people or that you were responsible for them." It was he that taught me psychic objectivity, the reality of the psyche...Psychologically, Philemon represented superior insight. He was a mysterious figure to me. At times he seemed to me quite real, as if he were a living personality. I went walking up and down the garden with him, and to me he was what the Indians call a guru. (Jung pointed out that a number of Indians that he met later had similar, non-physical gurus.)."<sup>11</sup>

The woman figure, what Jung was later to call the anima, began to assume importance. She did not remain long in the Salome guise, however. She reappeared in a new guise under the following circumstances: "When I was writing down these fantasies, I once asked myself, "What am I really doing? Certainly this has nothing to do with science. But then what is it?" Whereupon a voice within me said, "It is art", I was



astonished. It had never entered my head that what I was writing had any connection with art. Then I thought, "Perhaps my unconscious is forming a personality that is not me, but which is insisting on coming through to expression." I knew for certain that the voice had come from a woman. I recognized it as the voice of a patient, a talented psychopath who had a strong transference to me. She had become a living figure within my mind." However, Jung did not buy her line about art, "on the contrary, it is Nature."<sup>12</sup> We see again that Jung did not trust the various guises of this figure.

"I was greatly intrigued by the fact that a woman should interfere with me from within. My conclusion was that she must be the "soul", in the primitive sense, and I began to speculate on the reasons why the name anima was given to the soul. Later I came to see that this inner feminine figure plays a typical, or archetypal, role in the unconscious of a man, and I called her the "anima".

"At first it was the negative aspect of the anima that most impressed me. I felt a little awed by her. It was like the feeling of an invisible presence in the room. Then a new idea came to me: in putting down all this material for analysis I was in effect writing letters to the anima, that is, to a part of myself with a different viewpoint from my conscious one. I got remarks of an unusual and unexpected character. I was like a patient in analysis with a ghost and a woman!...The essential thing is to differentiate oneself from these unconscious contents by personifying them, and at





the same time to bring them into relationship with consciousness. That is the technique for stripping them of their power.

..The insinuations of the anima, the mouthpiece of the unconscious, can utterly destroy a man. In the final analysis the decisive factor is always consciousness, which can understand the manifestations of the unconscious and take up a position toward them.

But the anima has a positive aspect as well. It is she who communicates the images of the unconscious to the conscious mind, and that is what I chiefly valued her for. For decades I always turned to the anima when I felt that my emotional behavior was disturbed, and that something had been constellated in the unconscious. I would then ask the anima: "Now what are you up to? What do you see?"...After some resistance she regularly produced an image."

From other sources (e.g., Barbara Hannah, Brome's interviews, etc.) we learn that the situation was more complex and not quite the solitary journey that appears in the "Memories". The figure of the anima became associated with Toni Wolff, his ex-patient, student, and mistress. She listened to him, helped him develop his concepts, work out his fantasies. His task of taming his anima was in part accomplished through his relationship to her. The details of this aspect of the relationship and of this process are not known by the public. Interestingly, Emma Jung herself said of the relationship and its effects on Jung at this time: "I shall always be grateful to Toni for doing for my husband what I or anyone else could



not have done at a most critical time." Jung himself told Barbara Hannah: "...it was nothing short of heroism. Such things stand forever, and I shall be grateful to her in all eternity."<sup>13</sup>

Jung also acknowledge a debt to his family, "Particularly at this time, when I was working on the fantasies, I needed a point of support in "this world", and I may say that my family and my professional work were that to me. It was most essential for me to have a normal life in the real world as a counterpoise to that strange inner world. My family and my profession remained the base to which I could always return, assuring me that I was an actually existing, ordinary person.. Thus my family and my profession always remained a joyful reality and a guarantee that I also had a normal existence."<sup>14</sup>

Between the years of 1914 and 1916 Jung's life and work centered around his "fantasy life" and simply writing down and analyzing his psychic experiences. Because of the war, he was isolated in Switzerland, and other than some clinical work the situation allowed him the respite time to do this inner work.

Mid-Life Transition: Phase Two 1916-1918-19 (41-44)

As was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the years 1916-1919 had a different quality both in terms of external criteria (writing, organization work) and Jung's own comments on his internal life. He continued on Task two, the internal work, he continued his Task one work, the



reevaluation of his previous life. But he began work on Task three, the beginning of setting up a new life structure.

First, a ghost story from the memoirs: "Very gradually the outlines of an inner change began their appearance within me. In 1916 I felt an urge to give shape to something. I was compelled from within, as it were, to formulate and express what might have been said by Philemon. This was how the Septem Sermones ad Mortuos with its peculiar language, came into being (Seven Sermons to the Dead)."

First came a dream or fantasy, a fantasy of his soul or anima having flown away. "This was a significant event". The soul, the anima establishes the relationship to the unconscious. In a certain sense this is also a relationship to the collectivity of the dead; the land of the ancestors. If, therefore, one has a fantasy of the soul vanishing, this means that it has withdrawn into the unconscious or into the land of the dead. There it produces a mysterious animation and gives visible form to the ancestral traces, the collective contents. This is an example of what is called "loss of soul"--a phenomenon encountered quite frequently among primitives.

"It began with a restlessness, but I did not know what it meant or what "they" wanted of me. There was an ominous atmosphere all around me. I had the strange feeling that the air was filled with ghostly entities. Then it was as if my house began to be haunted. My eldest daughter saw a white figure passing through my room. My second daughter,



independently of her elder sister, related that twice in the night her blanket had been snatched away....Around five o'clock in the afternoon on Sunday the front doorbell began ringing frantically. It was a bright summer day; the two maids were in the kitchen, from which the open square outside the front door could be seen. Everyone immediately looked to see who was there, but there was no one in sight. I was sitting near the doorbell, and not only heard it but saw it moving. We all simply stared at one another. The atmosphere was thick, believe me! The whole house was filled as if there were a crowd present, crammed full of spirits...As for myself, I was all a quiver with the question: For God's sake, what in the world is this? Then they cried out in chorus, "We have come back from Jerusalem where we found not what we sought." That is the beginning of the Septem Sermones.

Then it began to flow out of me, and in the course of three evenings the thing was written. As soon as I took up the pen, the whole ghostly assemblage evaporated. The room quieted and the atmosphere cleared. The haunting was over."<sup>15</sup>

The Septem Sermones was the culmination of the work started in Jung's notebooks on his fantasy work. It is the last of the (direct) writings of Jung's from the unconscious. It is an arcane product from that realm so no analysis of it will be attempted here. Its effect, however, was to allow Jung to move on to a more active, conscious analysis and processing of his views and experiences. During this time he started work on what was to become Psychological Types





and a series of articles, The Transcendent Function, The Structure of the Unconscious, and The Role of the Unconscious.

### The Writings

The writings of this period and indeed even in the later periods drew heavily on the experiences and work done in "the confrontation with the unconscious". "All my works, all my creative activity, has come from those initial fantasies and dreams which began in 1912, almost fifty years ago. Everything that I accomplished in later life was already contained in them, although at first only in the form of emotions and images."

One can discern three trends within Jung's works that were started at this time. First, there was a review, an analysis, and transformation of the work and influences from the earlier periods. Second, there were ideas developed directly out of the fantasies, dreams, and phenomena of the period of introversion. Third, there was the work that bridged his own experiences with techniques and findings (or beliefs) of groups or individuals from the distant past who worked the same field.

Psychological Types<sup>16</sup> in part reflects the first. "This work sprang originally from my need to define the ways in which my outlook differed from Freud's and Adler's. In attempting to answer this question, I came across the problem of types; for it is one's psychological type which from the outset determines and limits a person's judgment. My book



therefore was an effort to deal with the relationship of the individual to the world, to people and things. It discussed the various aspects of consciousness, the various attitudes the conscious mind might take toward the world and thus constitutes a psychology of consciousness regarded from what might be called a clinical angle."

"The work on types yielded the insight that every judgment made by an individual is conditioned by his personality type and that every point of view is necessarily relative."<sup>17</sup>

Jung went on to show that Freud's viewpoint is applicable to certain problems, as was Adler's. (Freud was later to come to the same opinion--he incorporated Adler's aggression drive concepts without acknowledging the debt.) Freud's finding of his particular solution to the problem of the psyche was indicative of a particular type of outlook, a particular type of personality. Adler's psychology was a similar case. Jung characterized one as an extrovert, the other as an introvert. Moreover some individuals have favored cognitive modes, for others it's feeling, for still others it's intuiting.

The essays, "The Transcendent Function", "The Structure of the Unconscious", and "The Role of the Unconscious" were the first works that utilized Jung's experiences to form a psychology of the unconscious. The subjects were more fully treated in the works of the late 1920's and the 30's (e.g., "Psychology of the Collective Unconscious", "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious", etc.). Jung's dreams and fantasies with their mythological symbols were transformed into



his notion of the collective unconscious, a deeper level of the unconscious where one has access to ancient formulations, to "racial" memories. His experiences of poltergeist phenomena and premonitory dreams became the concept of synchronicity; the concept that the unconscious has access to information and sometimes powers that are not physically or causally accounted for. Jung's figures--Salome, Philemon, the dark man, etc., were generalized into the archetypes, the tendency for the psyche to subdivide into different (and sometimes opposing) forces, tendencies, roles, what have you. Jung's psychology was a personal psychology, what he experienced he translated as best he could into a general psychology, a general map and diagram of the psyche.

In trying to make sense, to impose order upon his bizarre experiences, Jung sought precedents and fellow travelers. "First I had to find evidence for the historical prefiguration of my inner experiences. That is to say, I had to ask myself, "Where have my particular premises already occurred in history?" If I had not succeeded in finding such evidence, I would never have been able to substantiate my ideas."<sup>18</sup> For that reason in the time circa 1916-1918 Jung began a concerted effort to research as extensively as possible the Gnostics. "Between 1918 and 1926 (Aniela Jaffe and Gerhard Adler date it 1916) I had seriously studied the Gnostic writers, for they too had been confronted with the primal world of the unconscious and had dealt with its contents, with images that were obviously contaminated with the world



of the instinct."<sup>19</sup> Jung's interest in them actually dates back to his massive research into religion and mythology back in 1909-1911. There is even some mention of them in the Freud-Jung correspondence. But it was after he went through this stormy upheaval from the unconscious that the Gnostics took on real importance in his life.

The Gnostics were a religious movement and influence that first arose in the Hellenistic Mid-East after Alexander. The combination of Hellenistic and Eastern cultures spawned the Gnostics (or the "Knowers"). They were not one religion but several, or an influence on many. Essentially they held that the perceived world is deceptive and illusory. Hidden within it are traces of a spiritual spark. So the Gnostics searched for hidden meanings, experiences "deep within the human heart". They influenced some of the Jews (particularly the Kabbalist strain of Judaism) and some of the early Christians. It was through the dogma battles between the Gnostic Christians and the successors of Peter and Paul that most of the knowledge of the Gnostics in Jung's time was derived. It was therefore limited and indirect. (For more information I suggest consulting Hans Jonas's The Gnostic Religion.)<sup>20</sup>

#### Organization and Family

1916 also saw the founding of a Jungian movement and the coining of a new term, Analytic Psychology, and the Analytic Psychology Club, respectively. Toni Wolff actually had much





to do with the latter and was its first president. Jung and his ideas were to be the center of the movement, but from the start Jung sidestepped the role of formal leader. For the first ten years or so the structure was particularly fluid and unsettled. Jung simply let it go and grow as it would. He had few of Freud's deliberate empire building proclivities.

New structures were simultaneously being laid down in the Jung family. Jung set out to "regularize" his relationship with Toni. She became part of the family, every week she dined with the Jungs and the children were instructed to call her "Aunt Toni".<sup>20A</sup> Barbarah Hannah wrote: "Of course there were the most painful difficulties for everyone concerned, especially before a modus vivendi was reached. Jealousy is a human quality that is never missing in any complete human being, but as Jung often said, "The kernel of all jealousy is a lack of love". What saved the situation was that there was no "lack of love" in any of the three. Jung was able to give both his wife and Toni a most satisfactory amount, and both women really loved him. Therefore, although for a long while they were at times most painfully jealous of each other, love always won out in the end and prevented any destructive action on either side. Emma Jung even said years later, "You see, he never took anything from me to give to Toni, but the more he gave to her, the more he seemed able to give me."<sup>21</sup>

Hannah also notes that after Toni was incorporated in Jung's life she did, at some point ask for marriage (when is not



said). "Toni told me once it had cost her more than anything in her life to learn that she must not give way to this almost universal feminine instinct...She also later realized that Jung's unswerving loyalty to his marriage gave her more than she could have had without it."<sup>22</sup> It seems likely that the above summarizes years of the relationship, but we can derive from this a sense of what Jung was after and what he tried to set up at this particular point in time. It is interesting that in conservative Switzerland, Jung could "pull this off". Interesting also that he could command, as he did, the complete loyalties of these two women. (One can also hear Hanna's loyalty in her writing. In fact Jung was said to have had a powerful effect on women, especially. Many of his followers and students were women. They were called Jung-frauen, a German pun, for a jungfrau is German for virgin."<sup>23</sup> Paul Stern asserted that Emma and Toni had regular sessions together with Jung's assistant, Carl Meier, to work out tensions and difficulties that arose between them.

#### The Mandalas and Individuation, End of the Mid-Life Transition

Jung climaxes his own account of his "Nykia"<sup>24</sup>, his travels through the underworld, with the story of his mandala drawings. "I had painted the first mandala in 1916, after writing the "Septem Sermones"; naturally I had not then understood it (definition: Sanskrit for a magic circle, often a circle squared or a play between circles and squares)<sup>25</sup>...



In 1918-19 I was in the Chateau d'Oex as Commandant de la Region Anglais des Interne de Guerre. (Switzerland as a neutral country was a haven for wounded soldiers and escaped prisoners of war. She was honor-bound to see that they did not return to the front to fight again.) While I was there, I sketched every morning in a notebook a small circular drawing, a mandala, which seemed to correspond to my inner situation at the time. With the help of these drawings I could observe my psychic transformations from day to day... Only gradually did I discover that the mandala really is: Formation, Transformation, Eternal Mind's Eternal Recreation (Goethe's Faust, Part II). And that is the self, the wholeness of the personality, which if all goes well is harmonious but which cannot tolerate self deception.

My mandalas were cryptograms concerning the state of the self which were presented to me anew each day. In them I saw the self--that is my whole being--actively at work. To be sure, at first I could only dimly understand them, but they seemed to me highly significant, and I guarded them like precious pearls. I had the distinct feeling that they were something central, and in time I acquired through them a living conception of the self...I had to abandon the idea of the superordinate position of the ego. After all I had been brought up short when I attempted to maintain it...When I began drawing the mandalas, however, I saw that everything, all the paths I had been following, all the steps I had taken, were leading back to a single point--namely the midpoint.



It became increasingly plain to me that the mandala is the center., It is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the center, to individuation" (underlining is mine).<sup>26</sup>

One can think of Jung's mandala drawing as the intersection of his unconscious creations and his archetype "activities". In creating these mandalas he somehow worked through his conflicting feelings and drives (the prototype of art therapy). The mandalas served a purpose similar to the manikin that Jung had made at age 10; they were a physical symbol of wholeness for him. The process and the experience of producing these works led Jung to the conception of a unity through harmonization of divergent aspects within the psyche that is a goal or tendency in life. Thus was born both the concept of the Self and the concept of the individuation process.

These drawings marked the knitting up of the transition period's fragments and the end of its tearing apart of what came before. "It was only toward the end of the First World War that I gradually began to emerge from the darkness."<sup>27</sup> The path that he was to take had been set out between 1916 and 1919. By the time he was 44 he was ready to "withdraw his energy from reappraising the past and reintegrating the polarities, ready to give his new choices meaning and commitment, and build a life structure around them."<sup>28</sup>

The old man Jung looked back to this time and reflected:

"It has taken me virtually forty-five years to distill within the vessel of my scientific work the things I experienced





and wrote down at that time. As a young man my goal had been to accomplish something in my science. But then, I hit upon this stream of lava, and the heat of its fires reshaped my life. That was the primal stuff which compelled me to work upon it, and my works are a more or less successful endeavor to incorporate this incandescent matter into the contemporary picture of the world.

The years when I was pursuing my inner images were the most important of my life--in them everything essential was decided. It all began then; the later details are only supplements and clarifications of the material that burst forth from the unconscious, and at first swamped me. It was the prima materia for a lifetime's work."<sup>29</sup>

#### Review of the Mid-Life Transition (38-44)

Jung's crisis at midlife had a double start. The first occurred when Freud broke off personal relations (age 37½). This was a major disruption of Jung's life structure. He felt disoriented and dreams and fantasies started to come forth from his unconscious. Over the summer he seemed to regain his bearings. During the fall, however, apocalyptic visions of world disaster and blood started to haunt him. In December he started to voluntarily enter into his fantasies, to actively explore his unconscious. Shortly thereafter (spring of 1914) Jung withdrew from his post at the university and resigned as president of the International Psychoanalytic Association. These were internally motivated changes in the



life structure and act as markers of the start of the Mid-life crisis. With the outbreak of World War I Jung no longer believed himself to be on the brink of a psychotic break, and set about to pursue his unconscious urges more vigorously and systematically. He kept a diary of his "psychic" encounters and stimulated his unconscious work with physical work and artistic activities. He developed a method of utilizing his fantasies in a process later called active imagination, a sort of vivid, directed daydream.

From within his psyche emerged split-off characters, wise old men, young women, dark men, etc. (later to be called archetypes). He had conversation, dialectics with these figures. One woman figure had the voice of a patient of his. The "taming" of these figures was brought about by these dialogues and by "going with" the fantasies. Also, Jung's relationship to Antonia Wolff served to tame his internal "anima" as he termed her.

In 1916 (age 41) he entered a more active phase of the midlife transition. While he continued his review of the past and his confrontation with his unconscious he started to form preliminary new structures. He regularized his relationship to Toni Wolff. She became his maitresse officiele, and Aunt Toni to his children. He formed a solid romantic triangle as opposed to a previous monogamy, with some adultery. He started to write on his unconscious phenomena and on his ideas about therapy, Freud, Adler, etc. (an analysis of past contacts and influences). He started his



own psychological movement, "analytical psychology".

Toward the end of this period his work with mandalas led him to the concepts of the archetype of the Self and the process of achieving an integrated self, individuation. Around 1919 the balance shifted over from transition period with beginning structures to a structure building period (Entering Middle Adulthood).



## Looking Back, An Overview

We have come to the end of the realm of the Levinson study. Jung has entered the next era, the middle adult era and we have run out of theory, as it were (at least empirically based theory). It is, then, a good time to look back briefly and see how Jung's life structure evolved over time.

When Jung was on the threshold of adulthood he had two sets of interests, two modes of functioning. Mode two, the mystical, "eternal" mode, no no outlets, no supporting structures in Jung's world at the time. The life structure that Jung began at 17 to 19 was a compromise, it allowed him many of his #1 or scientific interests, the possibility for a good livelihood and advancement, and much leeway for outside interests. It was a relatively good compromise.

During Entering the Adult World Jung shifted some of the elements and strengthened the structure. More emphasis was put on achieving within his chosen profession. He also succeeded in moving his profession closer to his #2 interests-- meaning, and the realm of the psyche--by specializing in psychiatry. He tried to become an academic, a Bleulaerian psychiatrist. Yet, with its preoccupation with diagnosis, this field was still far from an ideal solution.

In the Age Thirty Transition Jung made some changes and explored new fields. Serious love relationships, which had been missing in his life previously, were placed into the life structure by his marriage and family. He began to consider Freud and the psychoanalytic concepts. They brought





meaning to certain psychic phenomena. However, Freud meant a change in Dream. The Dream, heretofore aimed at academic success with side components for family and time for outside interests (remember #2), was, in its Bleulerian form, very imperfect. But siding with Freud meant risking the "bird in the hand", so to speak.

In the Settling Down Period Jung made a switch placing Freud and psychoanalysis centrally within his life structure. He made a go at raising a family and having a monagamous marriage. This also was far from ideal and there were strains both in the relationship with Freud and in the marriage.

In Late Settling Down Jung shifted some of the components. He placed following certain professional interests above fidelity to Freud. He tried to follow inner dictates. The Culminating Event of Settling Down was the writing of Transformations and Symbols of Libido, a somewhat heretical work. He also shifted his marital life from a purely monagamous one to one that allowed a romantic and intellectual relationship with Antonia Wolff. His professional choices caused a backlash reaction from Freud, pushing him out of a structure that he was slowly moving away from.

In his Midlife Transition Jung questioned his whole modus vivendi. Not merely reviewing his past, he reopened the issue of #2, long since set aside but always having some influence. He examined deep recesses of his psyche that had been partially sealed over. It was at this time that Jung was able to put together a life structure that closely met



met his needs, that had room for both #1 and #2, for both Emma and Toni. This period saw the birth of Jung as he is known today.

Interestingly one can see a process of gradual shaping, in the behavioral sense of the word. At 17 there was no room in the world for Jung as he was. So he compromised. But over time, by successive approximations he moved (or found himself moved) closer and closer to a good enough fit for his needs.

Well, then what? As I said previously, the Levinson study stopped in the Entering Middle Adulthood Period. What I will do now is give the rest of Jung's life a quick once over, highlighting certain trends.



The Second Forty-three Years: Middle and Late Adulthood

(But Really Briefly)



Entering Middle Adulthood (44-50 approx.)

Many of the activities in this period were established in the last phase of the transition period. The feeling-tone is more stable. Both Jung's emergence from his Midlife Crisis and the end of World War I contributed to a burgeoning of his affairs. Wealthy patients from all over the world had started to flock to him. Among these were Mrs. Edith McCormick (nee Edith Rockefeller) and Mrs. Mary Mellon of the United States.

His writing again took on momentum. The publication of Psychological Types in 1921 had a great effect internationally. The Psychological Club began to stabilize and his circle of students expanded. Toward the end of this time he started to hold seminars in English, marking a shift in the size and sphere of influence of his budding movement.

In the theoretical chapter I had emphasized that this was a structure-building period, but an exploratory one, in some ways reminiscent of Entering Early Adulthood. In Jung's case it was literally both structure building and exploratory. In 1923 Jung began work on a vacation-retreat "house" (actually a tower) at Bollingen. This tower had special significance to him; the building of it was a continuation of his physical-artistic-therapeutic work. It was designed to have rustic simplicity--no running water, no electricity, no modern "encumbrances". Over the years Jung added to and modified the structure. Its structure and function were particularly personal to Jung, it was a physical embodiment of himself in





an architectural medium and it was peculiarly suited to his needs for solitude, quiet, and meditation.

During the years 1920-1926 Jung took three extended journeys to North Africa (1920), New Mexico (1924), and finally a trek through East Africa (1925-26). Though he had no formal training in the field, Jung turned these trips into anthropological explorations. He spent his time with the various "natives", Arabs, Pueblo Indians, and African tribesmen. He tried to enter and see their world and "myths" from the inside, to see their point of view. It is not clear whether he succeeded in this respect, but his own imagination and creative processes were greatly stirred, and he attempted to have a truly sympathetic attitude. There is, in fact, a quality in his writings on his travels that anticipates the work of Carlos Castaneda, the modern day anthropologist who entered the world of a Mexican Indian "wise man" and became his apprentice.<sup>1</sup>

Also during this time Jung continued his "explorations" of Gnosticism and other historical "precedents". These included a study and use of the I Ching. His interest in the paranormal continued of course. He had a promonitory dream in 1923 with the "Hound of Death" running through, only to discover that his mother died quite unexpectedly a few hours later.



## Age Fifty Transition

In the preliminary work done on this period in the life course it was found that this transition often has a reciprocal relationship to the midlife transition. Indeed that was the case in Carl Jung's life. There are indications that it occurred but it was a gentle readjustment of the life structure rather than a drastic change or crisis.

I consider the trip to East Africa to be the marker event for Jung's Age Fifty Transition. In many ways it was similar to the two trips taken earlier. But it was much more ambitious. It had been inspired by a trip to London where he had seen the Wembley Exhibition of the African tribes and tribal artifacts of the British "Colonies" in Africa. It was the longest of Jung's journeys and took him the farthest from "civilization". Before leaving (with two friends, Peter Baynes and George Beckwith) he cast the I Ching. It said, "the man goes forth, but he does not return".<sup>2</sup> I would suppose that Jung did not take this lightly. But he went without hesitation. This gave the journey more motional significance. During this trip Jung coped well with the tribesmen. Several dangerous situations were diffused by Jung's charisma and "presence". The tribesmen looked upon him, with his greying hair, his height, and his title (not to mention the power of his personality) as the Old man, the Mzee,<sup>3</sup> signifying both age and a position of power. The journey can thus be considered a rite of passage for Jung into senior status, into the dominant half of the dominant generation.



During this trip Jung met Ruth Bailey, an Englishwoman, who became a family friend. She acted as Jung's housekeeper and companion after Emma died in 1955. There is no indication of an affair.

When Jung returned in the spring of 1926 his work "sometimes seemed to lack...meaning any more, so vividly in my mind were my African experiences."<sup>4</sup> In this year his Gnostic researches came to an end. There simply was not enough material available at that time for Jung to really work out the parallels. (What he would do now is an interesting question: recently archaeologists found a Gnostic library at Nag Hamadi in Egypt and there now are fairly extensive records of original gnostic sources.)<sup>5</sup> For the next three years of so he "plowed through ponderous tomes on this history of the world, of religion, and of philosophy, without finding anything.." He did have several disturbing dreams with symbols of alchemists and alchemical libraries (remember this is from an account where he is looking back on the period).

The connection was made when Jung's friend, sinologist Richard Wilhelm, sent Jung a copy of "The Secret of the Golden Flower" an ancient Chinese alchemical text. Wilhelm asked Jung to write a commentary on the text. Lights went on, trumpets flourished. Well perhaps not quite. But Jung felt that he was on the road to finding that "historical precedent" for his own experiences. Jung believed that much of alchemy was not merely devoted to early chemistry but dealt with



analogues of the human process of self-transformation. Jung was not alone in that belief. Herbert Silberer had started to work along those lines after his break with Freud.<sup>6</sup> The work was cut short by his suicide. Also, according to Idries Shah, Sufi tradition has it that the alchemists were a continuation of the Christian West of earlier mystical traditions (stemming from Crusader and Spanish contact with the East and possibly going back to Gnostic sources). This tradition has it that many of the alchemical books and processes were allegories, symbols and codes for experiences of the mind.<sup>7</sup>

At any rate this is what Jung came to believe on his own and it provided a direction and a structure for much of his work until his death. It was a particularly "Jungian" activity, for with it he could play with, translate and transform symbols to his heart's content. Furthermore it related Jung's work back to Goethe and Faust. With this development Jung's life takes on a contour which it was to have until approximately his 65th year.

#### Culmination of Middle Adulthood (53-53--65 approx.)

This time was the center of Jung's career. His organization solidified, the central works from his introversion work were brought out in this time. His mandala work was finally written up, the first alchemical papers were written, and he finally achieved official international recognition. It was quintessential dominant generation activities as





Ortega y Gasset would term it.

In 1930 he was elected Vice President of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy. In 1932 he was awarded the Literature Prize of the City of Zurich. In 1933 he once again received an academic post, lecturer at the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule in Zurich (the Swiss M.I.T.). In 1935 he received a professorship there as well. Oxford, Harvard and Yale all give him honorary degrees. In 1935 he was invited to give a series of lectures at London's Tavistock Institute. It must have seemed very sweet indeed, for he had given up his early Dream of academic recognition and a place of importance within the psychiatric world, and here it came tumbling into his lap.

This may help explain in part an episode in Jung's life that is usually termed "the Nazi Question". Jung's concept of the collective or racial unconscious automatically made him suspicious in some quarters. Since he believed that within one's unconscious there are elements from the past, ethnic differences in psychology followed as a corollary. He also believed this on cultural grounds. Considering the passions and the propaganda of the time this concept easily slipped over into suspicious territory. We can see it in the following passage (the only one I know of which even vaguely suggests a lack of hostility toward the Nazi cause):

"The Aryan unconscious has a higher potential than the Jewish; that is the advantage and the disadvantage of a youthfulness not yet fully escaped from barbarism. In my



opinion it has been a great mistake of all previous medical psychology to apply Jewish categories which are not even binding for all Jews, indiscriminately to Christians, Germans or Slavs. In so doing, medical psychology has declared the most precious secret of the Germanic peoples--the creatively prophetic depths of soul--to be a childishly banal morass, while for decades my warning voice has been suspected of anti-semitism. The source of this suspicion is Freud, he did not know the Germanic soul any more than did all his Germanic imitators...Has the mighty apparition of National Socialism which the whole world watches with astonished eyes taught them something better?"<sup>8</sup>

Interpretations of this passage vary. Having read Jung's opinions of the German psychosis and Hannah's accounts of Jung's reaction to the German capacity for group unconscious activity (during World War I, it frightened him)<sup>9</sup>, I do not think that Jung is saying that National Socialism has something better to teach (Brome does)<sup>10</sup>, but that the rise of the Nazis should teach more respect for these unconscious capacities on the part of the Germans, that they'd been ignored and this was the consequence.

What complicated the matter further was that the International Medical Society for Psychotherapy was based in Germany. In 1934 Jung was offered the presidency. All German organizations at that time had some connection to the Nazi government. Why did Jung take the post? In the Society's journal, the Zentralblatt, Jung wrote in 1934:



"I found myself faced with a moral conflict...should I as a prudent neutral withdraw into security on this side of the frontier, live and wash my hands in innocence, or should I--as I was well aware--lay myself open to attack and the unavoidable misunderstanding which no one can escape who, out of a higher necessity, has to come to terms with the political powers that be in Germany? Should I sacrifice the interests of science, of loyalty to my colleagues, of the friendship which binds me to many German physicians, and the living community of German language and intellectual culture, to my egoistic comfort and different political outlook?...So I had no alternative but to lend the weight of my name and of my independent position for the benefit of my friends...

I have no hesitation in admitting that it is a highly unfortunate and confusing coincidence that my scientific programme should have been superimposed without my cooperation and against my express wish, on a political manifesto."<sup>11</sup>

Jung very publicly made no bones about his opposition to Nazism in the middle of a German-backed journal. When the Nazis threw the Jewish physicians out of the organization, Jung extended international membership to them. He and other anti-Nazis in the international organization believed that he was keeping psychiatry afloat during a psychotic age by his presence in the organization. According to Brome, Jung tried to resign several times but was talked out of it by the Dutch and English contingents. Finally in 1939 Jung quit the organization.



It should furthermore be pointed out that both Rabbi Leo Baeck, one of the leaders of the German Jewish community and a survivor of the Theresienstadt concentration camp and Gershom Scholem, famed scholar of Jewish mysticism, knew and worked with Jung. They did not consider him a Nazi sympathizer or an anti-semiter and publicly said so.<sup>12</sup> A remarkable number of Jung's foremost students were Jews and continually defended him against the charges that came up.

Jung believed that the constantly recurring rumor came from "the pop", Freud, and his followers. He believed that they used his purported anti-semitism to explain his split with Freud. There seems to be some justification in that. But he did choose a politically difficult path. Perhaps it was for the best of reasons. Perhaps it was because he was finally achieving status and position in his field and that, plus the other considerations, led him to accept the position. It certainly was costly which he realized at the time. (Interestingly when Freud died in 1939 Jung wrote a rather generous eulogy.)

#### Late Adult Transition

Preliminary work suggests that there is a transition between 60 and 65. I cannot find any real indication of a life structure change until age 65 within Jung's life. He continued to travel, to write, to see patients, perhaps at an even greater pace. In 1938 he even took another of his extended journeys, this time to India.





However, sometime after the start of World War II the changes started. After his 66th year his health began to trouble him. He began to have heart trouble and more frequent illnesses. His age was more obvious in a society surrounded by war and totally mobilized in expectation of attack. He tried to remain active, he even ran (unsuccessfully) for the Swiss parliament. However, he was forced to give up some of his activities. In 1943 he resigned from the E.T.H. because of illness. In 1944 he was talked into accepting the Chair in Medical Psychology at the University of Basel created especially for him.

However, in February of that year he broke his ankle. While he was kept immobilized he suffered a myocardial infarction due to thrombo-embolism and was critically ill. His account of his psychic experiences during this time is, of course, fascinating:

"In a state of unconsciousness I experienced deliriums and visions which must have begun when I hung on the edge of death and was being given oxygen and camphor injections...

It seemed to me that I was high up in space. Far below I saw the globe of the earth, bathed in a gloriously blue light. I saw the deep blue sea and the continents. Far below my feet lay Ceylon, and in the distance ahead of me the subcontinent of India. My field of vision did not include the whole earth, but its global shape was plainly distinguishable and its outlines shone with a silvery gleam through that wonderful blue light. In many places the globe seemed



colored, or spotted dark green like oxidized silver. Far away to the left lay a broad expanse--the reddish-yellow desert of Arabia; it was as though the silver of the earth had there assumed a reddish-gold hue. Then came the Red Sea, and far, far back--as if in the upper left of a map--I could just make out a bit of the Mediterranean. My gaze was directed chiefly toward that. Everything else appeared indistinct. I could also see the snow-covered Himalayas, but in that direction it was foggy or cloudy. I did not look to the right at all. I knew later that I was on the point of departing from the earth.

Later I discovered how high in space one would have to be to have so extensive a view--approximately a thousand miles! The sight of the earth from this height was the most glorious thing I had ever seen.

After contemplating it a while, I turned around...Something new entered my field of vision. A short distance away I saw in space a tremendous dark block of stone, like a meteorite. It was about the size of my house, or even bigger. It was floating in space, and I myself was floating in space.

I had seen similar stones on the coast of the Gulf of Bengal...some of them had been hollowed out into temples. My stone was one such gigantic block. An entrance led into a small antechamber. To the right of the entrance, a black Hindu sat silently in lotus posture upon a stone bench. He wore a white gown and I knew he expected me...



As I approached the steps leading up to the entrance, a strange thing happened: I had the feeling that everything was being sloughed away; everything I aimed at or wished for or thought, the whole phantasmagoria of earthly existence, fell away or was stripped from me--an extremely painful process. Nevertheless something remained; it was as if I now carried along with me everything I had ever experienced or done, everything that had happened around me...

This experience gave me a feeling of extreme poverty, but at the same time of great fullness. There was no longer anything I wanted or desired...

Something else engaged my attention: as I approached the temple I had the certainty that I was about to enter an illuminated room and would meet there all those people to whom I belong in reality. There I would at last understand--this too was a certainty--what historical nexus I or my life fitted into...

While I was thinking over these matters, something happened that caught my attention. From below, from the direction of Europe, an image floated up. It was my doctor, Dr. H., or rather his likeness--framed by a golden chain or a golden laurel wreath. I knew at once: "Aha, this is my doctor, of course the one who has been treating me. But now he is coming in his primal form, as a basileus of Kos (an honored doctor of the temple of Asklepios, Kos was the birth-place of Hippocartes).

As he stood before me, a mute exchange of thought took place between us. Dr. H. had been delegated by the earth to



to deliver a message to me, to tell me that there was a protest against my going away. I had no right to leave the earth and must return. The moment I heard that, the vision ceased.

I felt violent resistance to my doctor because he had brought me back to life. At the same time, I was worried about him. "His life is in danger, for heaven's sake! He has appeared to me in his primal form! When anybody attains this form it means he is going to die, for already he belongs to the 'greater company'!"...My wife reproved me for being so unfriendly to him. She was right; but at the time I was angry with him for stubbornly refusing to speak of all that had passed between us in my vision. "Damn it all, he ought to watch his step. He has no right to be so reckless! I want him to take care of himself." I was firmly convinced that his life was in jeopardy.

In actual fact I was his last patient. On April 4, 1944-- I still remember the exact date I was allowed to sit up on the edge of my bed for the first time...and on this same day Dr. H. took to his bed and did not leave it again. I heard that he was having intermittent attacks of fever. Soon afterward he died of septicemia."<sup>13</sup>

Spooky, no?

#### Late Adulthood (69-86)

Jung's convalescence lasted more than a year, but he basically recovered. He had the basic infirmities of old age. In this time he shifted his activities. He cut down his patient load to the vanishing point and devoted himself to





writing. In 1948 the C. G. Jung Institute was founded. His movement had acquired some momentum and increasingly he played the role of Old Man, spiritual head of the movement, but removed from day to day affairs (actually this was simply a change in degree, it was always Jung's style to leave most of the organizational details to others). Between 1945 and 1956 Jung produced a number of major works. These works were removed from clinical questions, much of them dealing with religious or quasi-religious matters. Chief among these were: On the Nature of the Psyche, Aion, Answer to Job, Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle, and Mysterium Coinunctionis. This last work was the culmination of his work bridging alchemy and psychology. It was completed late in 1955.

This period contained many personal losses, as is natural for anyone attaining advanced age. Toni Wolff died quite suddenly in 1952. According to some sources she and Jung were not that close in her last years, but she was a major loss both to Jung and the movement. Because of a flare up of heart trouble Jung could not attend the funeral. Emma went in his place(!).

In turn, she contracted cancer in 1955 and died in November of that year. Toward the end she suffered a stroke. From Brome: "He found it difficult even to look at her.

We had come through so much together, and there she was--ruined. It was appalling", Jung wrote to Erich Neumann



(head of the Israeli Jungian Society) saying that the shock was so great that he could "neither concentrate nor recover his power of speech". I would have liked to tell the heart you have opened to me in friendship that two days before the death of my wife I had what one can only call a great illumination...I can only suppose that the illumination came from my wife who was then mostly in a coma, and that the tremendous lighting up and release of insight had a retro-active effect upon her, and was one reason why she could die such a painless and royal death."<sup>14</sup>

There is an account from Michael Fordham (via Brome) of Jung at this time, the supplements our picture of him:

"There was a dramatic collapse after the ceremony. Jung retired to his study to be alone, and there Dr. Fordham and his wife Frieda found him literally sobbing. It revealed a side of his character which has not appeared in this biography. There were long stretches of Jung's life when he was an ordinary likeable man easy to get along with and without any special charisma. But he could burst into childish tantrums and literally become the child demanding attention on occasion. Sometimes in these moments he had been accustomed to fall into his wife's arms. Now, without them, he broke down like a child once more and sobbed, "She was a queen! She was a Queen!"<sup>15</sup>

According to Liliane Frey-Rohn, "He became a different man after the death of his wife."<sup>16</sup> He himself wrote in his memoirs, "Everything that I have written this year and last



year...has grown out of the stone sculptures I did after my wife's death. The close of her life, the end, and what it made me realize, wrenched me violently out of myself. It cost me a great deal to regain my footing, and contact with stone helped me."<sup>17</sup>

After Emma's death, Ruth Bailey, Jung's friend dating back to the East Africa trek, came to be Jung's housekeeper. His children all had families and he didn't want to be a burden to them. Ruth Bailey lived alone and matters worked out well.

For years, various friends and students had been after Jung to write an autobiography or publish memoirs. He had steadfastly refused. For some reason in his 81st year, two years after his wife's death, he changed his mind. They were partly handwritten and partly dictated to Aniela Jaffe. They are fascinating, beautifully expressed and I recommend them to anyone who wishes to know anything about Jung. Whether the writing of it represented another change or phase in Jung's life I do not know. One would need much more information about this time of life and about Jung's life to begin to answer that question. There was no real slacking off in his writing, even right up to his death.

His health gradually declined over the next three years, and then deteriorated more rapidly after his 85th birthday. Reports differ over whether his mind was at all impaired by his infirmities. In these last years many were impressed by his "aura", his charisma. Some pupils described it as



electric.<sup>18</sup> Others noted that he could still show a prodigious temper, he seemed to impishly enjoy the crotchets and prerogatives of old age. Some noticed the calm and acceptance. Others thought that he worried over his place in history, worried about being forgotten. Most would agree that he fell firmly on the integrity side of Erikson's "integrity vs despair" continuum. Whatever, it all came to an end, peacefully on June 6, 1961, just a month short of 86 years after it all began.





### Postscriptum

I want to repeat what I said in the introduction, that I found the Levinson theories to be powerful, particularly so after applying them to Jung's life. I was reminded of a Mahler or Prokofiev symphony. The harmonic language and substance is highly unique, even bizarre. Yet if one knows how to look for it there is structure, order, and yes, sense. I hope that I was able to convey some of this sense.



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## Notes

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- 1) Stern #34
- 2) Hannah #14
- 3) Brome #5
- 4) Roazen #31
- 5) Von Franz" 38 p4
- 6) Storr #35, preface

### Chapter I Historical Review

- 1) Levinson#27 ,p325-326
- 2) Ortega y Gasset,#30,p48
- 3) Shakespeare,W. "As You Like It" Act II
- 4) Levinson,#27 pp8&9

### Chapter II A Review of Functionally Divergent Approaches to Life Course Study

- 1) The structure and much of the information of this chapter is derived from Levinson#28 and to a lesser extent #27 and 26
- 2) Comfort #8
- 3) Neugarten#29 p137
- 4) Vaillant #36
- 5) Fiske-Lowenthal #12
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- 7) Clausen#7 p511-512
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- 9) Ortega y Gasset #30 pp44-
- 10) " p55
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### Chapter III Levinson Theory Summary



Chapter III cont.

1) Levinson #27, #26 #28

2) Levinson # 27 p98-99

3)-

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4a) Meg Greenspan, Newsweek Magazine, Oct. "Endpage"

5) Levinson #27 p139

6)" p191

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8) " p193

9) " p279

Chapter IV Forbears

1) Hannah #14 p20

2) Brome #6 p20

3) Hannah #14 p22

4) Brome #6 p25

5) Bennet #4 p9

6) Jung #22 p8

7) Hannah #14 p27

8) Jung #22 p8

9) " "

10)" p19

11) " p92

12) Hannah #14 p63

13) Jung #22 p 48

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15)""p52

16)"" p62

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## Chapter V Early Childhood

- 1) Brome #6 p27
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## Chapter VI Latency-- the School Years

- 1) Jung #22 p18
- 2) ""p18-19
- 3) Brome #6 p32 From Oeri, A. Die Kulturell Bedetung der Komplexen
- 4) Erikson #9 p258-
- 5) Jung #22 p19
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## Chapter VII Gymnasium

- 1) Jung #22 p 24
- 2)Feinstein #10 p2097
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- 4) Robert Pirsig,author of Zen and The Art of MotorCyde Maintenance
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- 7)""p36
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- 10)Jung #22 p60-
- 11)"" p84 for Faust, p70 Schopenhauer
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## Chapter VIII Early Adult Transition

- 1)Jung #22 p68
- 2) ""p75
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- 6) Hannah#14 p58
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## Chapter IX Entering the Adult World

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8) p72 Alphonse Maeder in Ellenberger The Discovery of the Unconscious

9)Jung #22p114

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11) Dry #41 p24-

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## Chapter X Age Thirty Transition

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4) Brome #6 p83

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6)Jung #22 p147

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8)Jung #22 p148

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10) Jung #22p119

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#### Chapter XI Freud

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  - 29)F/J #11 several letters June 1909
  - 30) Brome#6 p122 Freud to Oscar Pfister
  - 31)F/J#11 Emma Jung to Freud Mar 16 1910 p303
  - 32) Brome #5 Stekel Chap
  - 33) "" " Stekels memoirs
  - 34) Jung #22 p150
  - 35)personal communication Margit van Leight Frank and Violet Delazlo
- Chapter XIII Becoming One's Own Man
- 1) Jung #22 p167
  - 2-4) F/J #11 p384-385
  - 3)"" April 19,1911 p415
  - 4)"" July 26 p437
  - 5) "" Aug. 20 and Sept. 1
  - 6)""Sept.1
  - 7) "" Emma Jung Oct 30 1911 p452
  - 8) Composite Brome #6 and personal Com. Margit vanLeight Frank and Violet Delazlo
  - 9) Brome#6 interview John Layard 1960 p131
  - 10)F/J #11 P471 Dec 11 1911
  - 11)Freud#11 p492 Mar 5 1912





- 12) Jung #11 p501 April 27 1912
  - 13) Freud #11 p507 May 23 1912
  - 14) Storr #35 Chapter Jung's early work
  - 15) This is my own formulation after reading Dry, Storr, Transformations etc.
  - 16) Freud #11 p510 June 13 1912
  - 17) Jung #11 p515-516 Nov 11 1912
  - 18) Freud #11 p517 Nov 14 1912
  - 19) F/J #11 note .. from Freud's letter to Putnam in Putnam and Psychoanalysis
  - 19b) Jung #22 p157
  - 20) Freud #11 p524 Nov 29
  - 21) Jung #11 not dated (Dec 11-14) p533
  - 22) Freud #11 Dec 16 p534
  - 23) Jung #11 Dec 18 p534-535
  - 24) Jung #22 p171
  - 25) Hannah #14 p109
  - 26) Jung #22 p173
  - 27) Leavy, S. #25 p567 from Freud Journals of Lou Andreas-Salome Leavy ed and trans.
  - 28) Jung #11 p550 Oct 27 1913
  - 29) Jung #22 p175
- Chapter XIV Mid-life Transition
- 1) Jung #22 p175-176
  - 2) Hannah #14 p111
  - 3) Jung #22 p176
  - 4) Hannah #14 p111
  - 5) Jung #22 p177
  - 6) "" p178
  - 7) "" p179



- 8) Jung #22 p180
- 9) "" p178
- 10) Leavy #25 p569-571
- 11) Jung #22 p183
- 12) ""
- 13) "" p185-187
- 14) Hannah #14 p119-120
- 15) Jung #22 p 189
- 16) "" p190-191
- 17) Jung #20
- 18) Jung #22 p207
- 19) "" p200
- 20) "" p201
- 21) Jonas #15 particularly prefaces intro and Chap 2
- 22) A) Stern #34 p139
- 23) Hannah #14 p119
- 24) "" p120
- 25) Brome #6 p215
- 26) Hannah #14 p117
- 27) Composite def. from Jaffe, Jung, Barton. etc.
- 28) Jung #22 p196
- 29) "" p199

#### Chapter XV Overview of Early Adult Era

#### Chapter XVI Middle and Late Adulthood

- 1) Carlos Castaneda The Teachings of Don Juan, plus later works
- 2) Hannah #14 p166
- 3) Jung #22 p259
- 4) Brome #6 p212
- 5) Jonas #15 preface to 2nd edition



- 5B) Jung#22 p203-204
- 6)" "p204
- 7)Shah #32
- 8)Brome #5 p143 from Jan 1934 Zentralblatt fur Psychotherapie (Jung)
- 9)Hannah#14 p112
- 10) Brome #5 p143
- 11) " "p115 (Jung) Mar 13 1934 Zentralblatt
- 12)Brome #6 p247
- 13) Jung #22 p289-293
- 14)Jung # 40 vol II Dec 15 1955
- 15) Brome #6 interview 1976 with M.Fordham
- 16) Jung #40 vol2 July17 1956
- 17) Jung #22 p175
- 18) personal com. Margit van Leight Frank and Violet Delazio









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